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THE

MEMORIAL

HISTORY OF BOSTON,

INCLUDING

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

1630—1880.

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR,

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V. 4 pt 2

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. PART II.

SPECIAL TOPICS.

Issued under the business superintendence of the projector,

CLARENCE F. JEWETT.

BOSTON:

TICKNOR AND COMPANY,

211 Tremont Street.

28997

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private, and no doubt even the more austere citizens derived gratification from what appeared to be a harmless method of passing a weary hour. The fear, however, that "a play-house" might be erected was so strongly entertained that the performance held at a coffee-house on State Street, when Otway's *Orphan, or Unhappy Marriage*, was given by two Englishmen assisted by some volunteers, led to the passage of "An Act to Prevent Stage Plays and other Theatrical entertainments," which became a law in March, 1750. It was stated by the framers of the law that stage plays "not only occasion great and unnecessary expenses, and discourage industry and frugality, but likewise tend generally to increase immorality, impiety, and a contempt for religion." The provisions were very stringent. Twenty pounds was the penalty to be paid by the owner of the premises let or used for any such purpose. Any actor or spectator present "where a greater number of persons than twenty shall be assembled together" was to pay five pounds. The intent of limiting the number was no doubt to prevent any such undertaking proving remunerative, without perhaps encroaching too harshly upon the right which some held that they possessed to give private dramatic performances at their residences. The law was accepted and enforced, as it was supported by public sentiment. Frequent attempts were made to secure its repeal. Intercourse with New York, where the theatre was established notwithstanding the same objections were urged which had prevailed in Boston, provoked a desire on the part of many of the more liberal citizens to erect a theatre and to conduct it in a manner that would remove many objections which were urged; but the more Puritanical held that stage plays were the "means of disseminating licentious maxims, and tending to immorality of conduct."

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The Revolutionary war brought trials and privations which were sufficient to tax the energies of the people to the exclusion of all other topics, and the daily incidents of those troublesome times obliterated the mimic stage from the minds of the people. General John Burgoyne, who was a dramatic author of some note, had in 1774 produced a play at Drury Lane, London; and while in Boston he brought out his second drama, called the *Blockade of Boston*, which was written with the intent of impressing his men with due contempt for American soldiery.[1] In New York, and possibly in Boston, the expenses of living were so excessive that inferior officers of the British army endeavored by the performance of plays to add to their incomes, while the general officers encouraged dramatic performances as a means of relaxation for themselves and as a measure to secure contentment among their subordinates. The salvation of the country from the American point of view became a matter of such serious concern, that on Oct. 16, 1778, the Continental Congress passed the following resolve: —

"Whereas, frequenting play houses and theatrical entertainments has a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary to the defence of their country and preservation of their liberties, —

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

"*Resolved*, That any person holding an office under the United States who shall act, promote, encourage, or attend such play, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed."

The severity of this act indicates the spirit which prevailed regarding the absolute necessity of avoiding the encouragement of any amusement calculated to distract the public mind from the higher duties of the times.

The close of the American Revolution was followed by a total reorganization of society in all the large cities, and the people looking toward the possibilities of the future enlarged their views; and the new generation, with higher aspirations, sought release from many of the restrictions which had so long prevailed. With increasing wealth came a more general attention to literature, and the dramatic works of English authors had peculiar attractions for a large class. The reading of the plays of Shakespeare[1] induced a desire among the people to see with their own eyes the full presentation on the stage of these masterpieces. The fame of Garrick had been echoed by Americans who had witnessed his marvellous performances in London; and John Philip Kemble was known to American readers of the English magazines, which then contained a monthly record of dramatic events. A coterie of wealthy gentlemen of culture in Boston attempted to educate public sentiment to a point which would permit the erection of a theatre. The law prohibiting theatricals had been re-enacted in 1784, though theatres in New York and Philadelphia were in full success. No attempt, however, was made in Boston to introduce theatrical entertainments until June 5, 1790, when Hallam and Henry, who had established play-houses in Philadelphia, New York, and Providence, which had been managed with a due regard for the proprieties of life, presented a petition to the Legislature, praying for leave "to open a theatre in Boston under proper regulations." The petition was not considered. In 1791 several of the leading residents of the town took the subject under consideration. The fact that Philadelphia, New York, and even Providence — the last city being a place of far less importance than Boston — supported theatres, was an argument used in its favor. The attention of the people was called to dramatic entertainments by a special article in the warrant for a town-meeting. An attempt was

[1] [The earliest American edition of Shakespeare was one printed in Philadelphia in 1795–96, in eight volumes, of which there are two copies in the Public Library. In 1802–4 Munroe and Francis published the earliest Boston edition, in sixteen numbers, fifty cents each, making eight volumes. "The press-work was mostly done by them personally on a hand-press, with ink-balls of sheepskin, the ink distributed by the hand. Ink and type imported, none worth using being made here. The engravings were executed by Dr. Alexander Anderson, of New York," — so writes Mr. David Francis, in a copy of a later edition preserved in the Lenox Library. A ninth volume, containing the poems, was added to this edition in 1807, claiming to be the first American edition of the poems; but this is questionable. Dr. Moore, of the Lenox Library, calls my attention to the prospectus of a reprint of Reed's edition of Johnson and Steevens, in twenty-one volumes, announced in Boston about 1807; but no edition of that date is known. What Munroe and Francis call their third Boston edition, 1810–12, in nine volumes, follows Reed's edition, and gave cuts engraved by Anderson. They printed from a copy owned by William S. Shaw. See *Barton Catalogue*, No. 49. — Ed.]

made to postpone the consideration of the subject; but public sentiment was becoming enlightened, and at an adjourned meeting the Boston members of the General Court were instructed to secure a repeal of the law. It was urged that "a theatre, where the actions of great and virtuous men are represented, under every possible embellishment which genius and eloquence can give, will not only afford a rational and innocent amusement, but essentially advance the interests of private and political virtue; will have a tendency to polish the manners and habits of society, to disseminate the social affections, and to improve and refine the literary taste of our rising Republic." At a meeting of the Legislature in 1792, Mr. Tudor, of Boston, introduced a bill repealing the act prohibiting theatrical entertainments. The proposition was rejected promptly. A reconsideration was carried, but a protest was sent in by some of the inhabitants of Boston, and by a vote of ninety-nine to forty-four the law was kept among the statutes.[1]

During the summer of the same year a few gentlemen determined to erect a theatre, in order to prove that the much talked-of play-house was not open to the objections which were urged against it. A site was selected in what was then known as Board Alley, now Hawley Street. The alley was originally a path through a pasture made by the worshippers at Trinity Church who resided on State Street and at the North End. It abounded in mud and in livery stables. It is probable that one of the stables became the theatre. A stage was erected, and the so-called "New Exhibition Room" was opened on Aug. 1, 1792, under the management of Mr. Joseph Harper, one of the prominent members of Hallam and Henry's company. The opening bill was rather a tentative performance to test the patience of those in favor of enforcing the prohibitory law, for it was more of the nature of a modern variety show than a dramatic performance. Tight-rope dancing, the *minuet de la cour*, the *gavotte*, and recitations made up the programme. The drama was after this introduced to the expectant Bostonians in the disguise of a moral lecture. Garrick's farce of *Lethe* was produced as a satirical lecture called "Lethe, or Æsop in the Shades," by Mr. Watts, and Mr. and Mrs. Solomon. Otway's *Venice Preserved* was announced as a moral lecture in five parts, "in which the dreadful effects of conspiracy will be exemplified;" and *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, etc., were masked under the same catching and hypocritical phraseology. On October 5 was produced a moral lecture in five parts, "wherein the pernicious tendency of libertinism will be exemplified in the tragical history of George Barnwell, or the London Merchant," delivered by Messrs. Harper, Morris, Watts, Murray, Solomon, Redfield, Miss Smith, Mrs. Solomon, and Mrs. Gray.

This open defiance of the law induced the attempt to procure an indictment by the grand jury, which failed. A warrant, however, was obtained for the arrest of Harper and others, and on Dec. 5, 1792, Sheriff Allen, after the performance of the first act, executed his mandate, and Harper was

[1] [The speech of Mr. John Gardiner, Jan. 26, 1792, on repealing the law, was printed in Boston the same year. See Amory's *James Sullivan*, i. 270. — Ed.]

Boſton Theatre.

Federal Street.

On *Wedneſday* Evening, *Sept.* 28*th*, '96.

Will be preſented, the *Tragedy* of

Romeo & Juliet

Romeo,	Mr Chalmers.
Friar Lawrence,	Mr Jones.
Capulet,	Mr Kenny.
Montague,	Mr Rowſon.
Tybalt,	Mr. Fawcett.
Benvolio,	Mr. McKenzie.
Paris,	Mr. Downie.
Friar John,	Mr. Clarke.
Prince,	Mr. Beete.
Balthazar,	Mr. Ratcliffe.
Peter,	Mr. Villiers.
Apothecary,	Mr. Hamilton.
Mercutio,	Mr Marſhall.

From the Theatre, Philadelphia, being his firſt appearance on this Stage.

Lady Capulet,	Mrs. Rowſon.
Nurſe,	Mrs. Baker.
Juliet,	Mrs. Marſhall.

Being her firſt appearance on this Stage.

In Act 2*d*. A *Grand Maſquerade*. Act 4*th*. a *Funeral Proceſſion*, and Solemn Dirge.

After which will be performed the farce of the

Apprentice.

Dick, *(With the original EPILOGUE,)*	Mr. Chalmers.
Wingate,	Mr. Kenny.
Gargle,	Mr. Beete.
Watchman,	Mr. Clark.
Bailiff,	Mr. Rowſon.
Iriſhman,	Mr Fawcett.
Scotchman.	Mr Hamilton.
Simon,	By a young gentleman, *(Being his firſt appearance on any Stage.)*
Spouters.	Meſſrs. Downie. Ratcliffe. McKenzie.
Charlotte,	Mrs. Rowſon.

N. B. The *Doors*, till Monday October 3d, will be open at half paſt Five o'clock and the Curtain riſe preciſely at half paſt Six—from the 3d of October the *Doors* will be opened at Five, and Performance begin at Six o'clock.

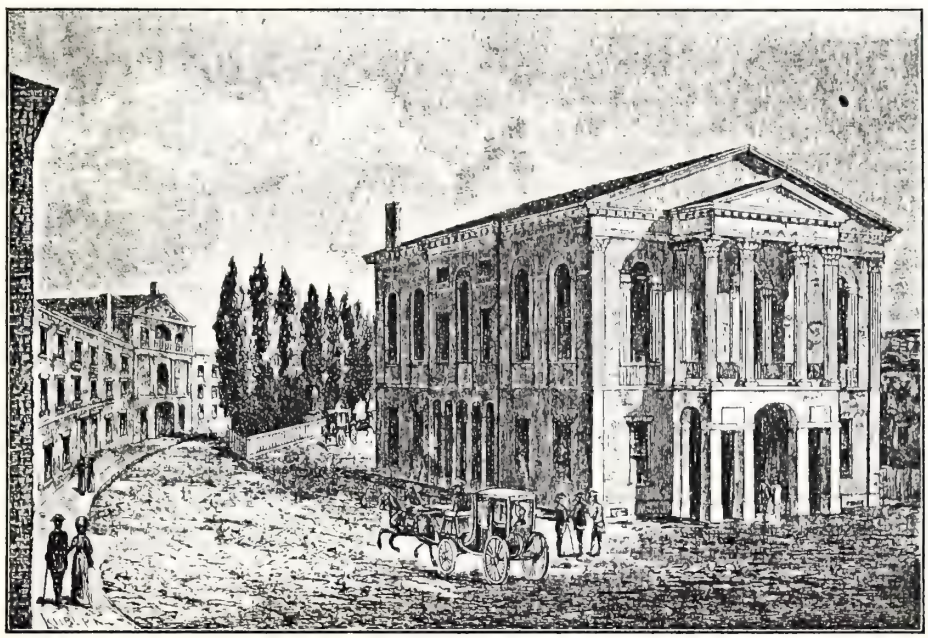
Tickets and Places to be had every Morning (Sunday excepted) at 10 o'clock, at the office of the *Theatre*

The entry to the PIT, is thro' the BOX paſſage front door

arrested. The audience, composed largely of young men, became noisy. As Governor Hancock had always been a strong opponent of the theatre, it was supposed that the arrest had been made at his instigation, and the portrait of his Excellency, which had been hung in front of the stage box, was torn down and trampled upon, and the State arms shared the same fate at the hands of the descendants of the "Sons of Liberty." The Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, at the hearing the next day in Faneuil Hall before Justice Greenleaf, objected to the legality of the warrant, as contrary to the fourteenth article of the Declaration of Rights, which requires that no warrant shall be issued except upon complaint made under oath. Mr. Sullivan endeavored to combat this point, but the justices admitted the soundness of it, and Mr. Harper was discharged. This was the beginning of the era of legal opposition to dramatic entertainments. Owing to the prevalence of small-pox in Boston, the Legislature met in Concord, when Governor Hancock made allusion to the theatrical row as "an open assault upon the laws and government of the Commonwealth." The Exhibition Room continued to be opened at intervals after this, for *The Contrast*, written by Royal Tyler, Esq., afterward chief-justice of Vermont, was performed. It was the first American play ever produced by a regular company of comedians, and was originally given in New York, April 16, 1790. The new Exhibition Room was taken down in the spring of 1793, when a movement was initiated for the erection of a theatre upon a larger scale. From this date legal opposition to the drama ceased in Boston, though even later it included among its patrons only the more liberal-minded of the population. The argument since put forth, that a theatre is a necessity in every large city, affording a place of resort for visiting strangers who are attracted to a metropolis for pleasure or trade, was not then advanced. Those who enlisted and contributed the means to erect the Federal-Street theatre were actuated by a belief that the influence of the drama was beneficial to society. They regarded the stage as a great instructor, and confidently anticipated not only a harvest of pleasure in witnessing the production of the plays of the great dramatists, but they looked for ample recompense in the good that would arise by showing "the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure." Many of the most influential citizens became interested in the erection of the theatre. The prohibitory law was still on the statute book, but it became a dead letter, and was finally repealed. The new theatre was located at the corner of Federal and Franklin streets, and was called the Boston Theatre. The record of the drama in Boston may be said to have begun with the opening of its doors on Feb. 3, 1794, under the management of Messrs. Charles Stuart Powell and Baker. It was a commodious structure, substantially built of brick, and at the time was probably the most imposing theatre in the United States, its appointments being excellent and its stage roomy. The opening performances included *Gustavus Vasa* and *Modern Antiques*, and the company came from England. The prologue, written by Robert Treat Paine, was delivered by the manager in

the character of Apollo. The directors appointed by the stockholders had a supervisory management of the house, but when the season terminated in June, 1795, the management was bankrupt.

Although the success of the new theatre was not such as to tempt the cupidity of any one seeking a fortune, there appears to have been even at this early date a strange infatuation regarding the erection of theatres, which has continued to the present day. Without sufficient legitimate patronage to support one theatre, it was proposed to erect another; and Mr. C. S.



THE FIRST BOSTON THEATRE.[1]

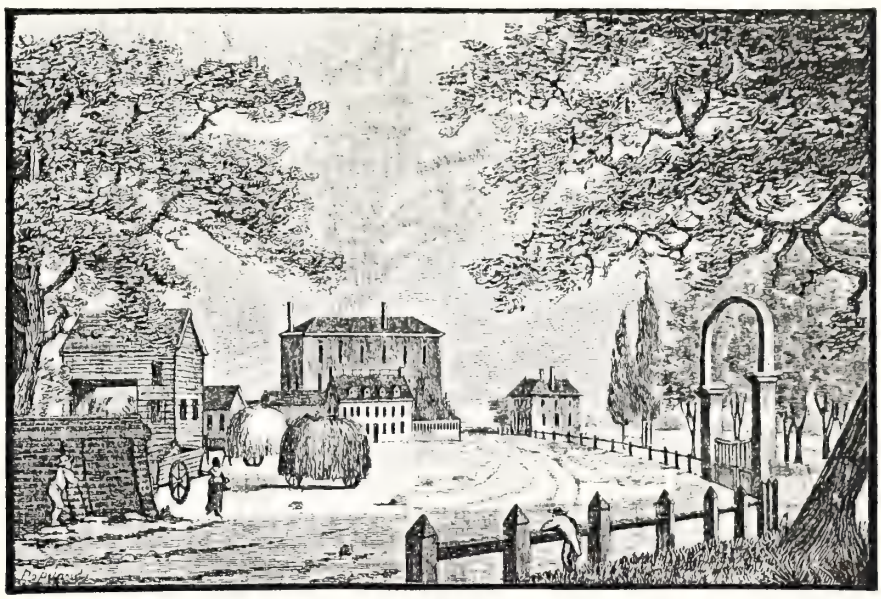
Powell, the first manager of the Boston Theatre, availed himself of the strong political antagonism which prevailed between the Federalists and so-called Jacobins to induce the latter to believe that the old theatre was managed with a view of promoting political animosities. The estimated cost of a new theatre was twelve thousand dollars. A site was selected near the corner of Tremont and Boylston streets, and the Haymarket Theatre was opened Dec. 26, 1796.[2] The most intense jealousy existed between the stockholders, managers, and others connected with the two establishments, and the presence of a supporter of the old theatre at the Haymarket was

[1] [This cut is based on a water-color painting, 14 by 7¾ inches, representing the theatre on fire, with groups of allegorical figures in the foreground. The sketch is from a scrap-book, arranged by the late Mrs. Ann Bromfield Tracy, of Newburyport, and was kindly furnished for this work by Miss. E. S. Quincy. The façade of the theatre, forming the design on a medal given to the architect, Mr. Charles Bulfinch, will be found in the chapter on Architecture in Boston. — Ed.]

[2] [A heliotype of the bill for the opening night is given herewith, following an original owned by Colonel Clapp. — Ed.]

regarded as a disloyal act. The rivalry continued until the afternoon of Feb. 2, 1798, when the Boston Theatre was destroyed by fire.

The opening of the Haymarket Theatre introduced to the public several actors who made Boston their permanent residence; and it was also marked by the first appearance on any stage of Mr. James A. Dickson, who subsequently became the manager of the Boston Theatre, and also achieved a high reputation as an actor. He was born in London in 1774, received a business education, and his coming to Boston from Philadelphia was one of



VIEW OF THE HAYMARKET THEATRE.[1]

those accidental moves which was regarded only as a temporary expedient to secure a few months' change, but proved of lifelong continuance, — Mr. Dickson becoming in 1806 joint lessee with Snelling Powell and John Bernard, of the Boston Theatre. He was manager and actor for some fifteen years, and died in this city, April 1, 1853. He gave a tone to the theatre by his personal deportment, and won many friends by his deeds of charity. He closed the theatre on days of public fast and church days, and he gave liberally of his receipts for charitable purposes. He crossed the ocean in search of theatrical talent some forty times in sailing ships; and it was

[1] [This cut follows a water-color painting now in the Boston Public Library. It was painted by Robertson, in 1798; was once owned by John Howard Payne; it is also engraved in Drake's *Landmarks*. The arch on the right is on the spot where the West-Street gate of the Common now is. On the opposite side is the haymarket, taking most of the space lying now between Mason and Tremont streets, and which for a long time was a part of the Common. The theatre is the large building nearly on the spot where the Evans House now stands, as appears by Osgood Carleton's map of 1800. To the right of it is a house where now Hotel Pelham stands. The waters of the back bay stretch beyond. The wall on the extreme left bounds the estate of James Swan, which later (1815) became the Washington Gardens. — ED.]

through his efforts, in connection with managers of New York and Philadelphia, that George Frederick Cooke, Edmund Kean, and other notabilities came to the United States. The Haymarket witnessed the first appearance in Boston of Thomas A. Cooper, the tragedian, in 1798. His daughter did the honors of the White House under the administration of her father-in-law, President Tyler.

The Haymarket was never a paying theatre, and was taken down in 1803. The large window was carried to Dedham by Mr. Dowse, where it was put in a house, which was occupied for many years by the late Edmund Quincy; the window is still in existence. The Boston Theatre, notwithstanding the protestations of many citizens, was rebuilt, — Mr. Bulfinch, the architect, receiving high praise for his skill in the interior arrangements. It was reopened to the public on Oct. 29, 1798,[1] under the management of Mr. John Hodgkinson, and was continued till 1835, when it was converted into a public lecture-room, under the name of the Odeon. In 1846 it was reconverted into a theatre, and was opened under the management of Mr. O. C. Wyman. With varied fortunes, it continued as a place for dramatic performances until 1852, when it gave place to a block of warehouses, which were destroyed by the great fire in 1872.

The scope of this chapter will not permit of a record in detail of the dramatic events of the past sixty years, nor is it, perhaps, desirable in a paper designed to be only an outline sketch. The drama has flourished in Boston to the same extent as in other cities. The earlier managers, with the exception of Mr. Dickson, were totally lacking in that knowledge of business affairs which is requisite to success. Mr. Dana, of the Tremont Theatre, was a good business manager; and Mr. William Pelby, of the old National, had qualifications to meet the requirements of the strictly business duties which secure success. For sixty years no manager accumulated a fortune, and it was reserved for the present generation to see examples in Boston of men of acute perceptions, shrewd in their financial conduct, bringing to the management of theatricals the same talents which are exhibited by successful traders and merchants.

The Boston Theatre, from 1798 to 1827, was the only thoroughly appointed theatre in Boston, though entertainments were given in halls and museums, and from time to time the small theatre in the Washington Gardens was used by travelling companies and by amateurs. For nearly thirty years the larger theatre had a monopoly, but with the exception of Mr. Dickson none of the several managers acquired large fortunes. The theatre in winter opened at five o'clock, and the performance began at six; and in the spring months half an hour later was the time for the curtain to rise. It was beneath this roof that Hodgkinson, Fennel (the first to give Shakespearian readings in Boston), Cooper, John Howard Payne (then a youthful prodigy), Wallack, Bartly, Edmund Kean, Macready, Forrest, Conway,

[1] [Mr. Edmund Quincy has described this opening in his *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 40. A view of the building is given in Snow's *Boston*, p. 334. — Ed.]

Junius Brutus Booth, Charles Matthews, Sr., and other lesser lights interpreted the masterpieces of the great dramatists. It was here that the Kean riot took place, when the great actor was driven from the stage (Dec. 21, 1825). During a previous visit to Boston he had refused to perform on account of the small audience assembled to witness his performance. This was made the pretext for an organized opposition, which was intended merely to prevent his playing, but which resulted in the destruction of property inside the theatre to the amount of about eight hundred dollars. The riot act was read, but no arrests were made, and Kean escaped,[1] though no intention whatever of doing him personal injury was entertained. A dozen policemen of the present day would have speedily brought the riot to a close. On Nov. 3, 1831, there was an incipient riot at the Tremont Theatre. Mr. J. R. Anderson, an English singer, with his wife, — formerly Miss Bartollozzi, — were announced to appear in *Guy Mannering*. On his passage from England to New York his servant was treated badly by the colored stewards, and a difficulty arose between one of the passengers, an American, and Mr. Anderson on this account. A very trivial affair was so magnified that the indiscretion of a hot-headed foreigner became a topic of public interest. Mr. Anderson was accused of speaking "disrespectfully of the American people," which in those days was regarded as an offence worthy of most signal rebuke. He was driven from the stage at the Park Theatre in New York, and came to Boston. There was considerable opposition manifested when he appeared on the stage, which subsided till late in the evening, when a large crowd collected outside, broke a few of the windows, and rushed into the theatre, the cry of "fire!" being raised. Mr. Anderson made his escape that night, but he resumed his engagement with partial success, and the public became convinced that a riot instigated by New Yorkers, based upon a few hasty words, was not very creditable to the city of Boston. This was the last theatrical disturbance of any magnitude. It is a gratifying feature of the present dramatic period that theatrical riots have ceased to interrupt performances. The busy community no longer take an interest in the personal quarrels of rival actors, or attach importance to their opinions of our institutions.

It was the custom in the earlier days of the theatre to signalize passing events by such appropriate notice as the resources of the stage would permit. The proposed launch of the frigate "Constitution," which was set down for Sept. 20, 1797, was regarded by Manager Hodgkinson as an event worthy of his attention. In forty-eight hours he completed a very passable piece, and announced its performance. The historic frigate moved only a few feet on the first attempt to launch it, and a second trial was abortive; but the third trial, Oct. 21, 1797, proved successful. At the theatre the

[1] [Kean fled to a house in Roxbury, and the next morning started for New York. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 160. The heliotype, given herewith, of the letter from Mr. Kean is a fac-simile of the original, which was addressed to Mr. James A. Dickson, the manager of the Boston Theatre, and presented by him to Colonel Clapp. — Ed.]

HAY-MARKET THEATRE.

On MONDAY Evening, *December* 26, 1796, will be presented
The favorite COMEDY of

THE BELLE'S STRATAGEM.

Preceding the piece, an occasional Address, written, & to be spoken by Mr. Powell.

Doricourt, Mr. S. POWELL
Sir George Touchwood, Mr. MARRIOTT, *his first appearance in Boston*
Flutter, Mr. POWELL
Saville, Mr. DICKINSON, *his first appearance on any Stage*
Courtall, Mr. TAYLOR
Villers by a YOUNG AMERICAN
Gibson, Mr. CUNNINGTON
Hardy, Mr. SIMPSON
(From the Theatre-Royal, Bath, being His first appearance in America.)
Letitia Hardy, Mrs. S. POWELL
Lady Frances Touchwood, Mrs. HUGHES
Miss Ogle, Miss HARRISON
Kitty Willis, Mrs. PICK
Mrs. Racket, Mrs. SIMPSON
(From the Theatre-Royal, Bath, being her first appearance in America.)

In Act 4, a Masquerade Scene, in which will be introduced

A PASTORAL-BALLET DANCE,

Composed by Mons. Francisqui.

A Pas de Six, by Messieurs Dubois, Renaud, Rogers, Sevens, mesdame Pick and Sevens, and miss Govven.

A Pas de Deux, by mons. Francisqui and madame Val,
A Pas Seul, by mons. Lege.—A Pas Seul, by mons. Francisqui,
To conclude with a DANCE by mons. Lege, mons. Francisqui, and madame Val.

To which will be added, *a Grand Historical and Tragi-Heroic Pantomime*, called

MIRZOR AND LINDOR.

Interspersed with Dances, Fights, &c. under the direction of mons. FRANCISQUI.

Mirzor, Governor of a Province in America, Mons. VAL
Lindor, a French Colonel in garrison in the Island, friend of Mirzor, and secretly in love with Narcissa, Mons. FRANCISQUI
Commander of a Spanish Fleet, in love with Mirza, but not beloved by her, and likewise friend of Mirzor, Mons. LEGE
[illegible] Mr. CUNNINGTON
[illegible] Mirza's Mother, with a Song, Mrs. PICK
[illegible] daughter of the Governor, Madame VAL
[illegible] Servant to Mirza, Madame LEGE
[illegible] Servants of Mirza, Mrs. MARRIOTT, and Madame SEVENS
Savages, Sailors, and African Soldiers, by the rest of the Company.

In Act 3d the *Entertainment* and *Masquerade* of the SAVAGES,

Negroes, Messieurs Dubois, Renaud, Sevens, and Rogers
Chief of the Savages, Mons. LEGE

Lindor orders a Military evolution with the Savages, to return the Governor of the province the Europeans and the Savages formerly went to war.

The celebration of *Mirzor* and *Lindor's* MARRIAGE.

MINUET *de la Cour*, by Mons. FRANCISQUI and Madame VAL

A NEGROS DANCE,

A Grecque Dance, by Mons. Francisqui—A Savage Dance, by Mons. Lege
A Pas Seul, by Mons. Francisqui,
[illegible]
In the Course of the Entertainment [illegible] VAN HAGEN.
Finale to Act 3d [illegible]
To [illegible]

WHAT IS PUBLIC.

EARLY PLAYBILL.

My Dear Sir, I cannot regret the occasion of my abrupt departure, but you must feel with me, that my professional reputation must not be trifled with. On my arrival at Edinburgh I shall [illegible] Rowe & such plays as may be found in the collection of the private events, but a full determination of the Public to fix character, which is to be the foundation of my fame & fortune, requires a greater portion of Philosophy than I am master of. I must commit to that Curiosity alone your [illegible] of the appearance [illegible] my application [illegible] must be [illegible] enough to pay in to [illegible] my portion of the [illegible]

I am dear Sir &c
Edmund Kean

EDMUND KEAN TO JAMES A. DICKSON.

MAY, 1821.

launch of the new piece was more successful, for it took place according to the programme. It abounded in patriotic allusions, and its songs, in keeping with the spirit of the times, became very popular. In December, 1799, the death of Washington cast a gloom over the whole nation. The theatre remained closed during the week, and was reopened on the evening of Jan. 10, 1800, — on the day devoted by the citizens to public obsequies. The commemorative ceremony at the theatre, which followed the play, was thus announced: —

"A Monody, on the death of General Washington, by Mrs. Barrett, in the character of the Genius of America weeping over the tomb of her beloved Hero. With a solemn March of Officers, Drums, Fifes, Band of Music, Soldiers with Arms and Colors reversed, forming a Grand Processional Dirge. After the recital, Military Honors will take place over the Monument of the Departed, but never to be forgotten, Saviour of his Country.

"N. B. — The theatre will be hung with black, and every tribute of respect due to the melancholy occasion properly attended to."

The capture of the British frigate "Guerrière" by the American frigate "Constitution" induced a patriotic effusion on Oct. 2, 1812. In the course of the entertainment the following scenery and incidents were introduced: —

"Scene 1. — State Street. *Huzza for the 'Constitution.'* Scene 3. — Cabin of the ship. Song, *A Cruising we will go.* Duett, *Conquer, or Die.* The 'Guerrière' is seen through the cabin-window under sail; orders are given to clear the ship for action, and scene changes to *a view of the ocean.* The 'Guerrière' is seen under easy sail, and the 'Constitution' in chase. The action commences, — the mizzenmast of the 'Guerrière' goes by the board; the action continues, and the 'Guerrière' loses her foremast and mainmast, — fires a gun to the leeward, and surrenders to the 'Constitution.' Scene last. — State Street. American officers, sailors, and marines enter with American colors, and the piece concludes with a song and chorus, called *The Good Ship 'Columbia.'*"

In 1813 *The Heroes of the Lake, or the Glorious Tenth of September*, was produced, to commemorate the brilliant victory of the youthful Perry. In the following spring Commodore Perry came to Boston and visited the theatre, where his presence was greeted with the wildest applause. The treaty of peace with England was also duly celebrated by an occasional piece; and when the frigate "Constitution" returned to Boston, the day was made notable by the production of scenes interspersed with songs, entitled *The Sailor's Return, or "Constitution" Safe in Port*, which proved not only attractive, but stimulated the spirit of patriotism, and in a measure educated the audience to a proper appreciation of passing events. Mr. Dickson, in 1823, arranged a pageant in commemoration of Shakespeare. The house in which the dramatist was born at Stratford-on-Avon was represented with fidelity by the scenic artists, and a procession of the most celebrated

characters, and a selection of scenes, was made from his plays. The prize ode by Charles Sprague was recited by Henry J. Finn, who became one of Boston's most popular actors. The visit of Lafayette to the theatre in 1825 was noted by a new and appropriate drop act.

The second dramatic temple of note in Boston was the Tremont Theatre, which opened its doors to the public, under the management of William

CHARLOTTE CUSHMAN.[1]

Pelby, Sept. 24, 1827. The first season was an unprofitable one, and the contest between the two theatres was disastrous to both. Mr. J. B. Booth, Richard Russell, George H. Barrett, Francis W. Dana, Thomas Barry, J. S. Jones, Andrews and Preston, were charged with the management. The the-

[1] [Charlotte Cushman was born in Boston, July 23, 1816, and made her first appearance on the stage at the Tremont Theatre, April 8, 1835. She had previously appeared at a concert. She died in Boston, Feb. 18, 1876. Emma Stebbins published in 1878 *Charlotte Cushman: her Letters, and Memories of her Life*. See also *Belgravia*, May, 1876, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, August, 1878. The City of Boston built a public school on the site of her birth-place, and the school was named for her, — indicating a striking change in public sentiment from even days within the memory of living citizens. She was present at the dedication, and made an address. — Ed.]

atre in 1843 was sold to the Baptists, and the closing performance occurred June 23, 1843. The most notable events of the sixteen years of its existence were the appearances of Charles John Kean, Master Burke, Charles Kemble, Fanny Kemble, Charles H. Eaton, Tyrone Power, the Woods, J. Sheridan Knowles, Fanny Jarman, Charlotte Cushman, James E. Murdoch, Ellen Tree, John Vandenhoff, Fanny Ellsler, Buckstone, and John Gibbs Gilbert. The theatre had its profitable seasons, but they were not numerous, and its financial history differs but little from that of the old Boston Theatre. Mr. Thomas Barry was manager for seven years, without profit to himself, though his efforts to advance the legitimate drama were worthy of large success. The theatre was too small to enable even crowded houses to meet the extraordinary expenses incidental to great attractions.

The City Theatre, before alluded to, at Washington Gardens was so named in 1823. It was formerly an amphitheatre and intended for summer presentations. It was located in the rear of the present St. Paul's Church. Private theatricals by amateurs were often produced at this house. Of the more modern establishments devoted to the drama we cannot give more than a mere outline as a matter of historic record.

Warren Theatre, *Portland Street, near corner of Traverse Street.* — Opened July 3, 1832, by William Pelby, having been remodelled from the American Amphitheatre, which had been opened Feb. 27, 1832, by William and Thomas L. Stewart, for equestrian performances. Reconstructed in 1836 by Mr. Pelby, and reopened Aug. 15, 1836, as the National Theatre. In 1848 Thomas Barry became stage manager under Mr. Pelby, and so continued until Mr. Pelby's death, which occurred May 28, 1850, when he became acting manager for Mrs. Rosalie Pelby. Mrs. Pelby retired from the proprietorship Feb. 28, 1851, and March 3 of the same year the house reopened under the proprietorship and management of Messrs. Barry, Wright (John B.), & Co. The season closed June 13, 1851. For the season of 1851–52 Messrs. Wright, Fenno (Henry W.), and Bird (George) were the managers, Mr. Fenno having been for several years the treasurer, and the previous season one of the joint managers. April 22, 1852, the theatre was burned. It was rebuilt and reopened Nov. 1, 1852, by Joseph Leonard. Mr. Leonard was manager for one year (season of 1852–53), and W. M. Fleming during the seasons of 1853–54, 1854–55, and a part of 1855–56 (to Dec. 8, 1855). For the remainder of the season the theatre was under the management of the stock company until December 26; Mr. Cushing, of Cushing's New York Circus, from Dec. 31 to Feb. 23, 1856; G. H. Griffiths, from March 3, two weeks; and James Pilgrim, from March 19 to June 4. The house then had a checkered existence. Sept. 8, 1856, it was opened as Willard's National Theatre, Henry Willard manager. Mr. Willard's term of management ended early in December; and Dec. 10, 1856, the house was opened as the People's National Theatre by a committee of management, with Henry Farren as acting manager. Soon after Mr. Farren's name appeared as stage manager, and James Pilgrim as acting manager. This season closed Feb. 6, 1857, and February 9 there was a reopening by James Pilgrim. March 2 Mr. Pilgrim appeared as lessee, and William B. English as manager. March 30 Mr. English's name alone appeared, and he remained sole manager until the closing of the season, July 30, the house having meanwhile resumed its old title of National

Theatre. The ensuing season he opened the house Aug. 31, 1857, and remained as manager until Feb. 20, 1858. April 5 it was opened for a brief period under the management of Charles R. Thorne, Sr. For the season of 1858–59 it was opened, August 23, by James Pilgrim and John Moran. Mr. Moran retired Jan. 1, 1859. The house, after being closed a short time, was reopened January 15 by James Pilgrim. This season was brief, and February 14 the theatre was opened, with Walter Gay as the ostensible, but William B. English as the real, manager. Mr. English closed his season

JOHN GILBERT.[1]

July 4. For the season of 1859–60 the establishment was opened under the management of Henry Willard, who retired October 3, to be succeeded (from October 3 to 22) by F. B. Conway. November 9 it was reopened as the People's National Theatre by William B. English, with whom John Moran became associated December 9. This firm continued in control during most of the winter. March 10, 1860, E. B. Williams and Thomas Hampton became managers for a time, the season closing May 15. During the season of 1860–61 J. C. Myers and C. J. Boniface were the managers, the

[1] [This cut follows a photograph taken some years ago, and furnished by Mr. Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert was born in Boston in 1810; was christened by Dr. John Lathrop in the Old North Church, and made his first appearance here, at the Tremont Theatre, Nov. 28, 1828. — Ed.]

house again being known as the National Theatre. In 1861–62, William B. English was again the manager, and during a part of the time, beginning in January, 1862, it was known as the Union Concert Hall, and devoted largely to variety performances. During the season of 1862–63 Mr. English was also manager, and the house resumed its former name of National Theatre. Dramatic and variety entertainments were given up to, and including, March 23, and the theatre was burned March 24. The stage fixtures, to a considerable extent, had been removed to the new Tremont Theatre upon the opening of that house in the early part of 1863.

Lion Theatre, *west side of Washington Street, south side of present Boston Theatre.* — Opened Jan. 11, 1836, by James Raymond and others of New York for dramatic and equestrian performances, E. C. Weeks being at the head of the establishment. In 1839 it was converted into a lecture and concert hall by John Redman, and known for a time as the Mechanics' Institute. It was then leased by the Handel and Haydn Society who opened Dec. 29, 1839, as the Melodeon. For a series of years this was the leading concert and exhibition hall in Boston. In 1844 it was temporarily converted into a theatre, by Leander Rodney, for a series of performances by William Charles Macready and Charlotte Cushman, who opened there October 2, with Henry J. Conway as stage manager. Subsequently it was occupied chiefly for concerts, lectures, and entertainments, but rarely for theatrical entertainments. When the Boston Theatre was built in 1854, the Melodeon became the property of the corporation owning that establishment, but some years later it was sold to other parties. In 1857 it was occupied for a short season by E. Warden as the Melodeon Varieties, and then resumed its former name of the Melodeon. In 1859 the hall was rebuilt, and the New Melodeon was opened Dec. 12, 1859, by the Melodeon Minstrels, J. W. Anderson manager. After a six weeks' season Mr. Anderson and the Minstrels retired, and for two seasons the hall was under the control of J. P. Ordway. It continued to be let for concerts, lectures, panoramic, minstrel, and other exhibitions. From April 2 to May 12, 1860, — six weeks, — Mr. and Mrs. Henri Drayton gave a series of parlor operas. In September, 1860, they returned, but were prevented from appearing by the enforcement of a restriction against dramatic performances which had been placed upon the Melodeon by the owners of the Boston Theatre when the Melodeon was sold by them. March 4, 1862, a company of French Zouaves appeared in a semi-dramatic entertainment, but two nights later were transferred to Allston Hall, where they appeared from March 6 to 11. During the National Sailors' Fair, held in the Boston Theatre from Nov. 9 to 22, 1864, amateur theatrical entertainments were nightly given in the Melodeon for the benefit of the Fair, by Arthur Cheney, H. C. Barnabee, John F. Pray, and others. The Melodeon eventually became a billiard-hall, and continued as such until 1878, when it was leased to Jason Wentworth, who opened it, Oct. 15, 1878, as the Gaiety Theatre, the restrictions against theatrical performances having expired some years previous.

Boston Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts, *Tremont Street, between Montgomery Place and Bromfield Street.* — Opened by Moses Kimball and others, June 14, 1841. For two seasons musical and olio entertainments were given, and the first dramatic entertainment took place Sept. 4, 1843, W. H. Smith being stage manager. Mr. Smith was engaged as stage manager at the old and new establishments eighteen years. The closing dramatic performance in the old house was given Aug. 8, 1846. Signor Blitz subsequently exhibited there, giving his closing exhibition Sept. 12, 1846.

Eagle Theatre, *corner of Haverhill and Traverse streets.* — Built in 1841 as an amphitheatre, and for its first season occupied for equestrian performances. Opened

June 27, 1842, as the Eagle Theatre, by Wyzeman Marshall, the company being an especially strong one. On account of the excellent character of the performances and the low prices at this theatre, and especially its proximity to the National Theatre, then under Mr. Pelby's management, the latter establishment began to fare badly, and Mr. Pelby had recourse to strategy in order to get even with his rival. Obtaining possession of a part interest in the property, he proceeded, under cover of improving his portion of the building, to render the whole useless. This was done by cutting away some of the supports of the roof. The last performance was given on the evening of March 22, 1843, and Mr. Marshall took his company to Providence, where he opened April 3.

Howard Athenæum, *south side of Howard Street.* — Formerly the Millerite Tabernacle. Fitted up as a theatre and opened Oct. 13, 1845, by W. F. Johnson, W. L. Ayling, Thomas Ford, and Leonard Brayley. Burned Feb. 25, 1846. Rebuilt, and reopened Oct. 5, 1846, by James H. Hackett & Co. as managers, and W. H. Chippendale as stage manager. Mr. Hackett relinquished the management to Thomas Ford, Feb. 23, 1847. Season of 1847–48, — began with Thomas Ford as lessee and manager, and W. L. Ayling as stage manager; leased by Sands, Lent, & Co.'s Circus, and also by Astor-Place Opera Company. Season of 1848–49, — began under Ford; leased by John Brougham and W. E. Burton for the appearance of Macready, who opened October 30; latter part of season under Ayling's direction. Season of 1849–50, Charles R. Thorne, manager. Season of 1850–51, — began by Messrs. Baker & English as managers; before the close, W. L. Ayling assumed the management. Season of 1851–52, — Wyzeman Marshall, manager. Season of 1852–53, — Henry Willard, manager. Season of 1853–54, — Henry Willard, manager. Season of 1854–55, — opened by Henry Willard, who disappeared Aug. 29, 1854; house closed, but reopened September 18 for a short season, with W. Palmer as manager, and J. B. Strong as acting manager; opened November 6 for two weeks, with an Indian exhibition, D. Swain manager. November 20, — opened by Pentland's Circus, which remained until January, 1855; Feb. 28, 1855, Henry Willard resumed management. Season of 1855–56, — opened Sept. 19, 1855, with J. M. Field and T. Placide as managers; October 24, Mr. Field became sole manager; this season closed about November 1; November 26, reopened with J. W. Buckland and Henry Farren as managers, who continued until Jan. 28, 1856, when J. W. Buckland became sole manager; Mr. Buckland closed February 2; house reopened February 21 for two weeks, with B. Duffy as manager; theatre occupied by Buckley's Serenaders from March 24 to April 12; by the Chinese Jugglers from April 17 to May 10, and later for benefits, etc.; Buckley's Serenaders had a summer season from July 14 to 26. Season of 1856–57, — opened Aug. 18, 1856, by F. A. and J. Munroe, F. Harrington, and E. B. Williams, who closed in November; from Nov. 18 to Feb. 14, 1857, occupied by the Marsh children, R. G. Marsh manager; from April 27 to May 19 by an entertainment of magic, and from June 1 to 13 by Donetti's dogs and monkeys; June 15, opened with dramatic performances, with H. Ashley business manager, and John Gilbert stage manager; July 6, E. L. Davenport became manager, and Jacob Barrow business manager, and August 11 J. Barrow lessee and manager, and H. Ashley acting manager, the season closing August 29. Season of 1857–58, — from Aug. 31, 1857, to December 5, occupied by the Marsh children, R. G. Marsh manager; Dec. 21 to Jan. 9, 1858, H. Ashley was manager, and from March 1 to July 26, J. Barrow. Season of 1858–59, — August 19, Zavistowski's Juvenile Ballet

Troupe opened for two weeks; September 3, the "regular" season opened, and closed about the middle of October; from November 1 to 27 the Martinetti and Blondin Troupe appeared, J. N. Buckland manager; from Nov. 29 to Jan. 8, 1859, Nixon's Circus appeared; from January 17 to 29 E. A. Sothern was manager; from January 31 to February 5, T. E. Mills; and February 28 the house was opened with E. L. Davenport as manager, who brought the company from the Boston Theatre. Season of 1859–60, — E. L. Davenport manager, opening Aug. 29, 1859, and closing July 9, 1860. Season of 1860–61, — E. L. Davenport manager, closing in June, 1861. During the summer of 1861 Frank Rivers's company from New York gave a series of variety performances. Season of 1861–62, — E. L. Davenport manager until November, 1861; the North American Circus then appeared, after which W. M. Fleming assumed the management, continuing until spring, when Wyzeman Marshall became manager April 14, 1862, the season closing August 30. Season of 1862–63, — Wyzeman Marshall manager, opening Sept. 1, 1862, and closing May 2, 1863. Season of 1863–64, — Henry Willard manager. Season of 1864–65, — Henry Willard manager. Season of 1865–66, — opened with Henry Willard as manager, who was superseded, May 1, 1866, by Isaac B. Rich (previously treasurer) as lessee and manager; the house was reopened under Mr. Rich's management, May 14. Season of 1866–67, — Isaac B. Rich manager. Season of 1867–68, — Isaac B. Rich manager. In 1868 a summer dramatic season was managed by Messrs. B. F. Lowell and Morris Simmonds, with F. S. Chanfrau as an attraction, and Kate Fisher afterward appeared. Season of 1868–69, — opened Aug. 10, 1868, as a variety theatre, by Isaac B. Rich and J. C. Trowbridge as lessees and managers, and Josh Hart as stage manager; two months later the firm became Rich, Hart, and Trowbridge. Season of 1869–70, — opened with the same managers, but Mr. Hart and Mr. Trowbridge retired before the close of the year; Jan. 1, 1870, John Stetson became a partner with Mr. Rich in the management, and from that time until the end of the season of 1875–76, six and a half years, Messrs. Rich and Stetson were managers; Mr. Stetson then became sole manager, and so continued two seasons, — namely, 1876–77 and 1877–78. Season of 1878–79 (opening Aug. 31, 1878, and closing June 21, 1879), — B. F. Tryon and Fred. Stinson, managers. Season of 1879–80 (opening Sept. 8, 1879), — Josh Hart and B. F. Tryon, managers. Season of 1880–81 (opening Aug. 23, 1880), — William Harris, manager. Since 1868 the entertainments have consisted of variety and drama, the former species of entertainment predominating.

Boston Museum, *east side of Tremont Street, between Court and School Streets.* — Opened by proprietors of old establishment, Nov. 2, 1846. W. H. Smith continued as stage manager until the end of the season of 1859–60, and was succeeded at the opening of the season of 1860–61 (Aug. 6, 1860) by E. F. Keach as acting manager. Mr. Keach continued as manager three and a half years, until his death (Jan. 31, 1864), and was succeeded Feb. 13, 1864, by R. M. Field, who has continued as manager to the present time. In the summer of 1880 the interior of the house was entirely rebuilt, and its seating capacity increased. The new establishment was thrown open on the first night of the fortieth regular season, Saturday, Aug. 28, 1880. It has been the most continuously successful theatre that Boston ever possessed.

Brougham and Bland's Boston Adelphi, *on Court Street, between Cornhill and Brattle Street.* — Opened April 5, 1847, by John Brougham and W. H. Bland; continued under the same management through its first season and through a portion of its second season, which began Sept. 6, 1847. Mr. Brougham retired from the manage-

ment, and in February, 1848, the house was called simply the Boston Adelphi, and at a later period Bland's Boston Adelphi. Mr. Bland also retired from its management at the end of the season; and subsequently, during the latter half of 1848, the year 1849, and the early part of 1850, it was occupied for exhibitions of various kinds, chiefly of the minstrel class, under different managers. Jan. 7, 1850, it was opened for minstrel entertainments under the name of the Adelphi Saloon. A little later it was converted to business uses.

Bland's Lyceum, *east side of Sudbury Street, near Court Street.*—Opened Sept. 19, 1848, by W. H. Bland, after the termination of his management of the Adelphi, on Court Street. Early in November Bland and Skerrett were both announced as managers. The house was kept open through the winter, spring, and early summer, and was reopened by Mr. Bland for a second season, Aug. 13, 1849. From November 5 until December 29 it was occupied by Dumbolton's Minstrels, Mr. Bland having retired from its management. Jan. 21, 1850, it was opened under its former title of Lyceum Theatre, by C. J. Smith, but, as before, minstrelsy soon usurped the place of the drama. March 19, 1850, it became the Odeon, under the management of G. Crouta and L. Mestayer. June 10 of the same year G. C. Howard began a short term of engagement. August 12, Parker's Ethiopian Troupe began a short season. For the season of 1850–51 it was open at irregular intervals. Oct. 13, 1851, it resumed its old name,—the Lyceum. In May, 1852, after having been closed for a time, it was opened as the Eagle Theatre, and the season continued until July 5. There was a reopening August 3, with J. H. Robinson as acting manager. December 13, the name of Mrs. H. Lewis was put up as manageress, and that of Thomas Ward as stage-manager. In March, 1853, after having been closed for a time, it assumed the name of Goodall and Olwine's American Theatre, W. R. Goodall being the stage-manager, and Wayne Olwine acting manager. As early as April 9 of the same year Mr. Goodall's name disappeared, Mr. Olwine's name remaining as the sole manager. April 25 Henry Willard became sole manager; but his term was short. June 12, 1853, the house was opened under the management of J. H. Robinson, as the Eagle Theatre. Dramatic performances were continued under his management through the summer and early autumn; and its later occupants were a gymnastic troupe, opening December 5, and the Philharmonic Vocalists, opening December 31, 1853. Soon after the minstrel season, the site of the theatre was turned over to business uses.

Dramatic Museum, *north side of Beach Street, near United States Hotel.*—Opened Oct. 16, 1848, with R. Hamilton as manager. December 11 Mr. Hamilton's name appeared as stage manager, and Joseph Proctor's as acting manager. Jan. 3, 1849, Mr. Proctor's name alone appeared; and March 23 it was replaced by Mr. James Anderson's. The house was kept open through the season; and for the ensuing season was reopened August 20 as Thorne's American Museum, C. R. Thorne, Sr., manager, and James Anderson stage manager. It was not long continued under this name, and October 31 it became known as the Beach-Street Museum. December 24 L. Gilmore became lessee and manager. During 1850 it was closed most of the time. October 21 in that year, however, it was opened by G. Crouta as the Olympic. Mr. Crouta's season was short, and the establishment was then closed, never to be reopened for dramatic purposes.

Boston Theatre, *west side of Washington Street, above West Street.*—Opened Sept. 11, 1854, Thomas Barry, manager. Mr. Barry continued as sole manager five years. In the summer of 1859 the corporation owning the property was reorganized,

and during the season of 1859–60 the theatre was managed by the directors, with Mr. Barry as their representative. During this season the house was not open continuously, and there was no regular stock company. The reopening under the new corporation took place Sept. 13, 1859. For the season of 1860–61 the house was leased to Bernard Ullman, who, with Max Strakosch, had managed an opera season in January, 1860. Under Mr. Ullman's management the house became known as the Academy of Music. Mr. Ullman let the theatre to various operatic, dramatic, and circus managers, from time to time, the house being closed when not thus occupied. During the season of 1861–62 it was let in the same manner to various parties for short periods, — the Ravels, James Nixon (for Edwin Forrest), and Henry C. Jarrett being among the principal lessees. In February, 1863, Wyzeman Marshall became the lessee, and March 23 the theatre was reopened under his management, and under its old name of the Boston Theatre. At this time Mr. Marshall was also manager of the Howard Athenæum. The season closed June 22. The succeeding season (from Aug. 24, 1863, to June 13, 1864) was also under Mr. Marshall's management. In August, 1864, Messrs. B. W. Thayer and Orlando Tompkins obtained control of the stock, and henceforth were virtually the managers, although the lease was held by other parties, — namely, Henry C. Jarrett for two years, seasons of 1864–65 and 1865–66; Edwin Booth and J. S. Clarke one year, season of 1866–67; and J. B. Booth six years, beginning with the season of 1867–68, and ending with the season of 1872–73. At the beginning of the season of 1873–74 (Sept. 1, 1873), the names of Messrs. Thayer and Tompkins first appeared upon the bills as proprietors, with L. R. Shewell as manager. Mr. Shewell continued as acting manager five years, ending with the season of 1877–78, which closed June 17, 1878. Mr. Thayer died in December, 1875, and Jan. 1, 1876, Noble H. Hill became associated with Mr. Tompkins in the proprietorship, the firm title being Tompkins & Hill. Since Mr. Shewell retired from the management Eugene Tompkins has been acting and stage manager.

The Aquarial Gardens, *on Central Court, off Washington Street.* — Opened towards the end of 1860 by James A. Cutting, who had previously, in Bromfield Street, a similar but smaller establishment. H. D. Butler became associated with Cutting in the management of the new place. Dramatic entertainments began Feb. 25, 1861, with C. H. Wilson as stage manager, and continued until about the middle of April. June 16, 1862, opened by P. T. Barnum, as Barnum's Aquarial Gardens, with a dog show, followed soon after by a baby show. Dramatic performances were given from Dec. 16, 1862, until Feb. 14, 1863. Then called Andrews's Hall, and occupied for balls, and occasional exhibitions and fairs. Oct. 2, 1865, opened as Théâtre Comique by Jason Wentworth, with James S. Maffitt and W. H. Bartholomew as acting and stage managers respectively, for performances of variety, pantomime, and light spectacular pieces. Continued by Mr. Wentworth under this title four seasons. July 1, 1869, Wentworth sold to John Stetson, who rechristened it the New Adelphi, under which name it was opened Sept. 6, 1869, with William Horace Lingard as manager. Comedies, light pieces, and Lingard sketches were played until November 27, when Lingard's term of management expired. Reopened November 30 as a variety theatre, under management of George F. McDonald. Continued two seasons for variety and dramatic performances (chiefly burlesques) under various managers, including McDonald, the Worrell Sisters (Sophia Worrell, directress), H. G. Clark, Maffitt & Tyler, James S. Maffitt, and John L. Hall, who acted chiefly for Stetson, who retained control as lessee. From Aug. 29 to Oct. 8, 1870, known as the Worrell Sisters' Adelphi. On

its reopening, Oct. 24, 1870, it resumed its old name of Adelphi. So continued until Feb. 4, 1871 (John L. Hall, manager), when it was burned. Rebuilt for business uses.

New Tremont Theatre, *Studio Building, entrance from Tremont Street, near Music Hall.*—Remodelled from Allston Hall, and opened Feb. 9, 1863, under the management of Mrs. Jane English, with a ballet and pantomime troupe, which was succeeded by other dramatic features. May 11, Juignet's French Dramatic Company appeared, followed by the Holman Opera Troupe, etc. Opened for the season of 1863–64, November 30, with Mrs. Julia Bennet Barrow and Mark Smith as managers. The house closed after a brief season, and was reopened Jan. 7, 1864, under the direction of Mrs. Barrow. The house was then kept open continuously, the French company closing the season. During the season of 1864–65 it was occupied by various parties and combinations, including Morris Brothers, Pell & Trowbridge's Minstrels, after the burning of their Opera House on Washington Street, Oct. 25, 1864, from October 31 to December 22; MM. Juignet and Drivet's French Dramatic Company, two engagements, from Jan. 30 to Feb. 11, 1865, and from April 3 to 15; Messrs. E. L. Davenport and J. W. Wallack from May 1 to 27, and Mr. Davenport as manager from May 27 to June 10. During the latter part of 1865 the theatre was let to the Cotton & Murphy Minstrels from October 2, for five weeks, and MM. Juignet and Drivet's Dramatic Company from November 13 to December 23. The house was let for occasional exhibitions subsequent to this, but in 1866 was converted to business uses. Since reopened as Allston Hall for pedestrian matches, etc.

Continental Theatre, *south corner of Washington and Harvard Streets, on the site of the Apollo Gardens, where for several years concerts and other entertainments had been given.*—Opened Jan. 1, 1866, with Lon Morris as manager, and J. L. Saphore as stage manager. Mr. Morris closed his season March 10, 1866. Opened by Messrs. Wilder, Sloat, & Co., March 12, and continued under their direction until April 14. George K. Goodwin was then manager from April 16 to May 12; and Albert Cassedy, for a brief period, from May 14. Opened for its second season Aug. 20, 1866, as Whitman's Continental Theatre, with B. F. Whitman manager, and E. L. Davenport stage manager; season made memorable by the production of "The Black Crook," which revived the fortunes of the house; last dramatic performance of the season, July 4, 1867. For the season of 1867–68, opened September 2 as the Continental Theatre, under Mr. Whitman, who remained as manager until Jan. 25, 1868, when he was succeeded by C. H. Garland. Mr. Garland's season closed February 22, and the house then remained closed, with the exception of two performances on Fast Day, April 2, under the management of J. Wentworth & Co., of the Théâtre Comique, until April 13, when it was opened for a series of German dramatic performances by Madame Fanny Janauschek, who on that date made her first appearance in Boston. Madame Janauschek's engagement continued one week, and the theatre remained closed for the remainder of the season. Aug. 31, 1868, it was opened as Willard's Theatre, under the management of Henry Willard, who continued at the head of affairs until September 30. Mlle. Marie Zoe played October 1 and 2, and on the latter date the performance came to an untimely end, on account of a series of "strikes" among the employés. Mr. Willard had in the meantime disappeared, and the house had passed into the hands of the managers of the Boston Theatre. Oct. 21, 1868, it was opened under the name of the Olympic Theatre, by Madame Fanny Janauschek (her second engagement here). Madame Janauschek's name appeared as directress, and Oscar Guttmann as stage manager. Ten performances in German were given,

the concluding one November 5. November 16, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Florence began a season of three weeks (W. H. Bowditch, business manager), which closed December 5. December 21, the theatre was reopened under the management of J. B. Booth, with the Elise Holt Burlesque Company. The burlesque season continued until Jan. 30, 1869, six weeks; and Stone & Murray's Circus Company appeared from February 8 until March 6. Variety performances were given July 4; and similar entertainments from July 26 to August 28 were under the management of John Stetson. MacEvoy's Hibernicon was exhibited in the summer also. During the season of 1869–70 the theatre was not open continuously, but was occupied by various attractions, — namely, from September 13 to October 30, under the management of Kate Fisher; November 22 to December 8, by Sharpley's Minstrels; Jan. 31, 1870, for a short season, by Allen, Pettingill, Delehanty, & Hengler's Minstrels; March 21, for a week of dramatic performances, under the management of J. B. Booth; April 18, for a short season, by the New York French Dramatic Company; May 23, for a short time, by MacEvoy's Hibernicon; and from July 18 to 30, for representations of a military drama by Post 7, G. A. R. During the season of 1870–71 the theatre was opened in the same irregular way, — namely, from September 5 to 10 by Colville's Novelties; from September 26 to October 1 for dramatic performances, with John G. Nagle as manager and N. D. Jones as stage manager; from November 21 to 26 for dramatic performances, by Mr. and Mrs. Harry Watkins; from Dec. 20 to Jan. 7, 1871, three weeks, for the performance of a military drama by Post 7, G. A. R.; January 31, for a sparring exhibition; February 14 to 18, by the Adelphi Theatre Company, which had been burned out; February 20 to 25, by Morris Brothers' Minstrels; April 10 to 22, by the Boston Theatre Company, J. B. Booth manager; and May 31 to June 3, by the Boston Theatre Company. For the season of 1871–72, opened Aug. 14, 1871, as the St. James Theatre, with J. C. Trowbridge & Co. as lessees and managers, and W. B. Cavanaugh as director of amusements. Variety and pantomime formed the staple attractions. The season continued until December. Feb. 12, 1872, opened for dramatic performances, under the management of W. H. Leake, who was succeeded June 24 by Ada Harland, the season closing July 6. Aug. 26, 1872, the house was reopened by Mr. Leake with a minstrel company for one week, followed September 2 with a dramatic company for one week. September 9, McGill & Strong's Tableaux of Ireland appeared; dramatic entertainments from September 16 to 19; the Tableaux of Erin, October 23; dramatic entertainment, November 9; and further dramatic performances under Mr. Leake for a few nights, beginning November 1. The theatre was soon after closed and converted to business uses.

Selwyn's Theatre, *east side Washington Street, just north of Essex Street.* — Built by Arthur Cheney and Dexter H. Follett, and opened Oct. 29, 1867, with John H. Selwyn as manager. In 1869 Cheney became sole proprietor. In 1869 (from June 7 to August 7) there was a summer season, under management of William Horace Lingard. In the season of 1869–70 Thomas Barry was stage manager, Selwyn retaining the position of manager, which he continued to hold through that season. July 4, 1870, last performance of any kind given in Selwyn's Theatre, the establishment afterward assuming the name of Globe Theatre. Under latter title, opened Sept. 12, 1870, with Charles Fechter "sole manager." Fechter remained as manager until Jan. 14, 1871. Jan. 16, 1871, W. R. Floyd became manager, and so continued until the burning of the theatre, May 30, 1873. Rebuilt by Mr. Cheney, with the aid of an association of right-holders, and reopened Dec. 3, 1874, with D. W. Waller as

manager. In the season of 1875–76 (opening Sept. 13, 1875), W. R. Floyd was again manager, and he continued in the same capacity through the season of 1876–77. From Dec. 30, 1876, to March 12, 1877, the theatre was closed for reconstruction under the orders of the Building Inspectors. Last season under Cheney's control ended May 26, 1877. House leased by John Stetson, and opened by him Sept. 3, 1877, since which time it has been under his management. In the summer of 1880 the house was in a measure reconstructed and greatly beautified, the reopening taking place Sept. 6, 1880.

Gaiety Theatre, *Washington Street, adjoining Boston Theatre, and on site of the old Lion Theatre and the later Melodeon.* — Reconstructed from the Melodeon (second structure of that name), and opened by Jason Wentworth, Oct. 15, 1878.

Park Theatre, *west side of Washington Street, north of Boylston Street.* — Reconstructed from Beethoven Hall, and opened April 14, 1879, Henry E. Abbey, of the New York Park Theatre, manager. John F. Schoeffel, who was associated with Mr. Abbey in conducting the Park Theatre in New York, and various other theatrical enterprises, including Sarah Bernhardt's professional visit to America, became connected with the Boston Park as associate manager, the firm title, Abbey & Schoeffel, first appearing March 8, 1880.

Vaudeville Saloon, *Boylston Hall, over Boylston Market, south corner of Washington and Boylston Streets.* — Opened by Wyzeman Marshall, July 13, 1840. Season closed Aug. 28, 1840.

Olympic Saloon, 253 *Washington Street* (*old number*), *between Bromfield and Winter Streets.* — Opened June 14, 1841, by William Lee, as Lee's Grand Saloon, for musical entertainments and dancing. Opened for dramatic performances March 14, 1842, by a portion of the company formerly at the Tremont Theatre. Season closed on or about June 22. Reopened for musical entertainments, etc., as Lee's Grand Saloon, July 14, 1842.

In addition to the theatres already enumerated, there have been several establishments devoted to variety entertainments, and at these light dramatic performances have sometimes been included as incidental features.

The events of recent interest in the dramatic record are still fresh in the public mind, and brief allusion only can be made to them. Mr. Edwin Booth made his first appearance on any stage at the Boston Museum, Sept. 10, 1849, when he performed the part of Tressell to his father's Richard III. He first came to Boston as a star at the Boston Theatre, opening April 20, 1857, where to many he developed a new dramatic revelation. Rachel's brief engagement at the Boston Theatre, which began Oct. 21, 1855, gave to our citizens the first and only opportunity they enjoyed of witnessing the classical acting of the leading actress of France. Adelaide Ristori came Oct. 29, 1866, and Madame Janauschek followed April 2, 1868, at the Olympic Theatre, as interpreters of their respective schools of acting. In later years Salvini, John McCullough, Clara Morris, Lawrence Barrett and Mlle. Bernhardt have delighted large audiences by their masterly display of histrionic genius, and the remembrance of Miss Neilson's charming performances of Shakespeare's heroines is mingled with regret at her early death. "The palmy days of the drama," so frequently spoken of

by lovers of dramatic representations, is a period which is without date in the calendar. Measured by a pecuniary standard, the present time is the most propitious era which the drama has ever witnessed in the United States. The stage was regarded fifty years ago as a school for culture, and the theatre was the resort of those who sought something more than mere amusement. To-day, ninety per cent of the patrons of the drama seek at the theatre not mental food, but relaxation from the routine cares of business. Even in our largest cities, where a floating population composed of strangers make up the night's changing audiences of the theatres, it would be impossible to make a season profitable to the management if the so-called legitimate drama were on the programme. The society comedy has taken the place of even the old English standard plays. Shakespearian revivals are not of long continuance, even when the leading parts are sustained by eminent actors. The star system, which has been regarded as so pernicious in times past, is still retained. There have been many instances in Boston where a single actor of eminence has received more for a week's performances than was left in the treasury to pay the expenses of the stock actors and the running expenses of the theatre. Attempts have been made to render the theatre self-supporting, by depending upon a good corps of actors; but the thirst for novelty on the part of the public has rendered this effort futile.

Within a few years the stage has witnessed an innovation which threatens to revolutionize the drama in this country. In the early days of the drama in England travelling companies had their circuits, and with well-organized corps appeared from time to time in smaller places, where a week or two exhausted the patronage of the place. In some of our larger cities the regular dramatic season was supplemented by a summer season in some smaller city. The theatre and the drama were identified, for the manager of the theatre had his organized corps of actors, which possessed sufficient talent to produce plays in the absence of stars. The theatre was an institution. The new departure threatens to take from the theatre the prestige it derived from its company, and to make its management entirely dependent upon what are known as travelling companies. Mr. Forrest and other eminent actors had their own pieces, and they carried with them one or two actors to support them. It was stipulated in Mr. Forrest's engagement at times that so much should be allowed for the salary of his leading lady or his leading support. The idea has expanded, and now not only the play is the property of the actor, but he brings his own company, properties, etc. The duration of the engagement is brief, rarely extending beyond two weeks. It is true that the play may be better performed, as practice makes perfect; but the managers of theatres must either keep their own companies on the road when their theatres are leased by these travelling corps, or they must dispense with stock companies and become mere dramatic landlords. It is certain, however, that the effect upon the stage of this modern idea of furnishing novelties to a novelty-seeking public must prove detrimental to the drama.

There have been several very successful plays written by American authors, which have derived their chief claim to celebrity by the acting of the leading actor, who has secured the special right to these plays. No Boston author has as yet written a play which is likely to keep possession of the stage. It is only within a very few years that there has been any pecuniary incentive to induce authors to devote their talents to this branch of literature. A single play, written by a resident of Boston but recently, has, owing to its merits and the happy acting of the stars, netted the writer some ten thousand dollars. This, however, is quite exceptional. Boston has witnessed the production of many local pieces which have not been without merit, but not one is likely to hold more than a temporary place in dramatic literature.

It may or may not be true that the verdict of a Boston audience is more highly valued by artists than that of any other city; but Boston may be justly credited with a public possessing an appreciative sense of dramatic talent. Not a few of the most popular stars have received their earliest incentive to exertion from the encouragement of a Boston audience, while the most eminent foreign actors have found their warmest welcome in this city. The leading theatres in Boston are to-day under the management of those who fully understand that excellence can alone command permanent success. Of late years we have witnessed, both in the scenic illusions and the minor accessories, a great advance upon the crude representations of thirty years ago. Criticism, kindly but just, may be credited with a potent influence in securing these improvements, and thereby elevating the tone of the drama.

The theatre, within the remembrance of the patrons of the drama of the present day, has yielded to a healthy public sentiment and has become purified. There is no longer a portion of the house set apart by custom for the abandoned and profligate of both sexes, and the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited in the saloons attached to theatres. There are many who hope to see the theatre take a position so elevated as "a school of morals and of manners, of dress and deportment," that it shall become "the ally of the church, an adjunct of the school-room and the college, and a succursal to the public library, picture gallery, and museum of every large and populous city." Every lover of the drama will cordially accept this standard. Its realization, however, depends upon the public.

The story of the drama in Boston, since it can be said to have been fairly planted, differs in no essential point from the record it has made in every other city where the English language is spoken. The same vicissitudes have marked the stage everywhere. The drama flourishes, declines, revives, only to decline and revive again, as the years roll on. The theatre has become one of the necessities of a large city. It may instruct at times, but this element is not vital to its success. Its influence as a teacher has not kept pace with its importance as one of the institutions of a great metropolis. Without any Government subsidy or protection as an æsthetic institution,

it maintains itself by its inherent claims to consideration; and while it is thus made self-dependent it must seek to please the popular taste of the period, in order to secure an existence.

Eminent Actors. — The following is a list of several of the prominent actors who have appeared in Boston. The date preceding their names is the year when they first appeared in Boston, and the other dates represent the year of their birth and death:

1795, John Hodgkinson; 1765–1805.
1796, Mrs. Elizabeth Kemble Whitlock; 1761–1836.
1796, James A. Dickson; 1774–1853.
1798, Thomas A. Cooper; 1776–1849.
1806, James Fennel; 1766–1816.
1809, John Howard Payne; 1792–1852.
1811, George Frederick Cooke; 1756–1812.
1818, James W. Wallack; 1795–1864.
1821, Edmund Kean; 1787–1833.
1822, Junius Brutus Booth; 1796–1852.
1822, Henry J. Finn; 1785–1840.
1822, Charles Matthews; 1776–1835.
1824, William A. Conway; 1789–1828.
1826, William C. Macready; 1793–1873.
1827, James H. Hackett; 1800–1871.
1827, Edwin Forrest; 1806–1872.
1828, John Gibbs Gilbert; 1810.
1830, Charles John Kean; 1811–1868.
1830, Master Burke; 1818.
1833, Thomas Barry; 1798–1876.
1833, Fanny Kemble; 1809.
1833, Charles H. Eaton; 1813–1843.
1833, Tyrone Power; 1797–1841.
1833, Charles Kemble; 1775–1854.
1834, J. Sheridan Knowles; 1784–1862.
1835, Charlotte Cushman; 1816–1876.
1836, Mr. and Mrs. Keeley. Mr. Keeley; 1793–1869.
1836, Josephine Clifton (Mrs. Robert Place); 1813–1847.
1836, James E. Murdoch; 1811.
1837, Miss Ellen Tree (Mrs. Kean); 1805–1880.
1837, John Vandenhoff; 1790–1861.
1838, Miss Jean Margaret Davenport (Mrs. General Lander); 1827.
1839, Mrs. Fitzwilliam; 1802–1854.
1839, E. L. Davenport; 1816–1877.
1840, William Creswick; 1813.
1840, J. B. Buckstone; 1802–1879.
1842, George Vandenhoff; 1820.
1843, John Brougham; 1810–1880.
1845, Anna Cora Mowatt; 1818–1870.
1846, Julia Dean; 1830–1868.
1846, William Warren; 1812.
1847, J. R. Anderson; 1819.
1849, Edwin Booth; 1833.
1849, Barney Williams; 1824–1876.
1852, G. V. Brooke; 1819–1866.
1852, Mrs. Julia Bennett Barrow; 1824.
1852, E. A. Sothern; 1826–1881.
1853, Eliza Logan (Mrs. Wood); 1830–1872.
1853, Joseph Jefferson; 1829.
1853, Maggie Mitchell; 1837.
1854, Miss Agnes Robertson (Mrs. Boucicault); 1833.
1854, Dion Boucicault; 1822.
1855, Rachel; 1820–1858.
1855, F. B. Conway; 1819–1874.
1857, Charles James Mathews; 1803–1879.
1858, Lawrence P. Barrett; 1836.
1860, John McCullough; 1837.
1861, Charles Dillon; 1819.
1866, Adelaide Ristori; 1821.
1868, Fanny Janauschek; 1830.
1870, Isabel Glyn (Mrs. E. S. Dallas); 1823.
1870, Charles Fechter; 1825–1879.
1873, Salvini; 1829.
1873, Lilian Adelaide Neilson; 1850–1880.
1877, Clara Morris; 1850.
1877, Mary Anderson; 1859.
1878, Modjeska; 1844.
1880, Sarah Bernhardt; 1844.

The Theatres and Places of Amusement. — The following list shows the order in which the various theatres and places of amusement in Boston have been opened:

1792, New Exhibition Room, or Board-Alley Theatre.
1794, Boston Theatre.
1796, The Haymarket.
1823, City Theatre, Washington Gardens.
1827, Tremont Theatre.
1832, Warren (later National) Theatre.
1836, Lion Theatre.
1840, Vaudeville Saloon.
1841, Boston Museum (old establishment).
1841, Olympic Saloon.
1842, Eagle Theatre.

1845, Howard Athenæum.
1846, Boston Museum (new establishment).
1846, Boston Theatre, Federal Street (reconstructed).
1847, Boston Adelphi.
1848, Lyceum (later Odeon, Eagle, American, and again Eagle Theatre).
1848, Dramatic Museum (later American and Beach-Street Museums and Olympic).
1852, Ordway Hall (later Ordway's Varieties, Morris Brothers, Pell & Trowbridge's Opera House, etc.).
1854, Boston Theatre (later Academy of Music, and again Boston Theatre).
1858, School-Street Opera House.
1859, New School-Street Opera House (later Boudoir Theatre).
1860, Aquarial Gardens (later Théâtre Comique and New Adelphi).
1863, New Tremont Theatre.
1863, Buckley's Minstrel Hall.
1866, Continental (later Olympic and St. James) Theatre.
1867, Selwyn's (later Globe) Theatre.
1874, Burnell's (later Boylston) Museum.
1876, Germania Theatre.
1878, Gaiety Theatre.
1878, Palais Royal.
1878, Gray's Opera House.
1878, Alhambra.
1879, Park Theatre.
1879, Forest Garden.
1879, Oakland Garden.
1879, Park Garden.
1879, Dudley-Street Opera House.
1879, Siege of Paris Opera House.
1879, Union's Opera House.
1879, Novelty (later Hooley's, and again Novelty) Theatre.
1880, Ocean Garden.
1880, Halleck's Alhambra.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FINE ARTS IN BOSTON.

BY ARTHUR DEXTER.

A PURITAN society was not favorable to art. Men believing in a literal interpretation of the Scriptures frowned on everything like graven images, and set themselves grimly to the work of ruling and strengthening the community they had founded for conscience' sake, in a moral atmosphere too cold to cherish any of the softer graces. Not until a hundred years after its foundation do we find any traces of art in Boston. By that time the severe race of Puritans had passed away; the young colony had prospered, and drawn over from England many who held less sad views of life, who saw no harm in fine clothes, and hung on the walls of their houses a few good pictures brought from their old homes. Portrait painting is usually the first branch of art which springs up naturally in a young country; and while the sober and serious minded were glad to have the features of their favorite minister handed down for the veneration of future church members, more worldly citizens got their own portraits painted in the bravery of dress which marked its wearer as one of the gentry, or at least as a prosperous merchant.

Bishop Berkeley, then Dean Berkeley, came to America in 1728, with the benevolent design of establishing a college for heathen children. Two years later he returned to England, disappointed and mortified. So far as the infant heathen were concerned, the scheme had proved an utter failure; but the Dean left behind him a verse, —

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

and the first portrait painter of any skill whom Boston had known. Whether there had been any such here previously is not certain, — perhaps Pelham, of whom we shall hear later, may have already done a few heads in order to engrave them; [1] but certainly our earliest artist worthy

[1] [There is a surmise that one Tom Child, who died in Boston in 1706, was a still earlier limner of features. See *Sewall Papers*, ii, 170. See also some notes on presumably earlier portrait painters in *Mass. His. Soc. Proc.*, Sept., 1867, p. 47. — Ed.]

of the name was John Smybert. He was ours only by adoption; for he was born in Edinburgh, about 1684, and went to London as a coach painter. He attracted the notice of some picture dealers, who employed him to make copies; so that he soon found himself rich enough to carry out the wish of his heart, and to visit Italy. There he worked hard for three years, copying the old masters, and was employed by the Grand Duke to take the portraits of some Siberian Tartars, presented to the Duke by the Tsar. When Smybert afterward landed in Narragansett Bay, "he instantly recognized the Indians to be the same people as the Tartars," — thus counting himself among those who have traced an Asiatic origin for the red man. On his return from Italy to London he obtained a good deal of business, but gave it up to accept the post of Professor of Drawing, Painting, and Architecture, in the college which Berkeley destined to civilize the American barbarians.

When the scheme was abandoned by its founder, Smybert moved from Rhode Island to Boston. He married a daughter of Nathaniel Williams, who was the Latin schoolmaster of the town for fifty years, and had two children, — one of whom, Nathaniel, was already showing promise as an artist when he died, still young. Smybert had been well recommended to the quality of the Province. Chief-Justice Lynde entertained him as his guest; and his host's portrait is one of the best of his pictures which have come down to us. Though not a great painter, Smybert had a dry sincerity of style which makes his portraits interesting and valuable as memorials. Peter Faneuil,[1] the Chief-Justices Lynde[2] (father and son), Sewall[3] and Oliver, Judge Edmund Quincy, and many other leading men of the day, their wives and daughters, still look out more or less grimly from his canvases.[4]

Smybert died in 1751. A year before, there had come to Boston — some say from Connecticut, where his father had travelled about painting portraits — one Jonathan B. Blackburn, who succeeded Smybert as the painter of the quality. His style was much like Smybert's, generally rather harder and dryer, yet on the whole so similar that it is often impossible to be sure to which of the two a picture should be attributed, unless the date of it decides. More than fifty portraits by Blackburn are now known, most of them in or near Boston. They were all painted within fifteen years; then he suddenly left the town. The reason why he did so is not known; but Mr. Perkins, in his *Memoir of Copley*, hazards the guess that

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 260, — if by Smybert. — Ed].

[2] [Ibid., p. 558. — Ed.]

[3] [Ibid., p. 148, — if by Smybert. Copies of engravings after Smybert's likenesses of Benjamin Colman and William Cooper are given in Vol. II. p. 212. A copy of Pelham's engraving of Smybert's portrait of Joseph Sewall is given in Vol. II. p. 241. — Ed.]

[4] Mr. A. T. Perkins, in his notice of Smybert, enumerates more than thirty of his portraits still existing here. [Smybert lived on Court Street, between Cornhill and Brattle Street; and his painting room was afterward occupied by Trumbull when he retired from the army. In later years Allston had a studio on the same spot. — Ed.]

this young painter's increasing success may account for Blackburn's departure. If this was his reason, it was perhaps a wise step. Copley was then painting at least as well as his older rival, with every promise of painting better before long; his social position naturally made him the favorite with the upper classes, who were the chief patrons of art, — and there was hardly room for two portrait painters in Boston. So it was good policy to move on to some untrodden ground, and leave this field to the rising young artist who threatened to seize it for himself; and Blackburn left the town in 1765.

In the sister art of copper-plate engraving some progress, not much, had been made in the young colony. Peter Pelham may be considered its founder here. He may indeed be reckoned our earliest painter, too; for although none of his paintings exist, he certainly did use the brush occasionally, though only in order to provide subjects for his graver.[1] Were it not for his distinguished step-son, however, his name would be of little interest, — of no more than those of Francis Dewing,[2] who engraved Captain Bonner's *Map of Boston* in 1722, or of Nathaniel Hurd,[3] who was born here in 1730 and was a pupil of Pelham, or of a dozen others whose names have been discovered and set down by earnest searchers of colonial records, and of whom no more is known than that they lived and engraved. The art was in a rude state at best; and Paul Revere's name is familiar to our ears through the memory of a certain ride he took, on a spring evening in 1775, rather than because his patriotism found a vent in prints of political caricatures and of the "Boston Massacre," or because he engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the bills of the paper-money ordered by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in session at Watertown.[4]

In Limerick, Ireland, one Mr. Richard Copley had married Squire Singleton's daughter, and emigrated with his young bride to America; and on July 3, 1737, John Singleton Copley was born in Boston. About the same time Richard Copley died in the West Indies. Some time before the future artist was eleven years old, the widow married Peter Pelham, already spoken of, — surveyor, painter, and engraver. "The household of Peter Pelham was perhaps the only place in New England where painting and engraving were the prominent pursuits," says Mr. Perkins in his *Memoir*. Young Copley was born with a love of art; and family tradition speaks of

[1] [Copies of engravings after Pelham's likenesses of John Moorhead and Timothy Cutler are given in Vol. II. p. 214; and Pelham's engraving of Greenwood's portrait of Thomas Prince, in Vol. II. p. 222. The knowledge we have of Pelham and of some of his contemporaries is contained in W. H. Whitmore's *Notes Concerning Peter Pelham and his Successors, prior to the Revolution*, Cambridge, 1867, which had previously appeared in a less perfect state in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1866–67. See also *Heraldic Journal*, iv. 177. Mr. Whitmore reported what he supposed to be an early work by Copley, and a portrait of Pelham in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1878, p. 37. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. liii. — Ed.]

[3] [Copley painted his friend Hurd once or twice, and an engraving of him is preserved in the *New England Magazine*. See *Perkins's Life and Paintings of Copley*, p. 76. — Ed.]

[4] [Some specimens of Revere's work will be found in his views of Boston, given in Vol. II. pp. 411, 532; and his portrait of Hancock, in Vol. III. chapter i. See references to other engravings of his, in Vol. II. pp. 130, 438. His portrait is given in another chapter. — Ed.]

his sketches on the walls of his nursery and in his school-books. It is hard to believe, therefore, that his son, Lord Lyndhurst, was quite correct in writing that he "was entirely self-taught, and never saw a decent picture, with the exception of his own, until he was nearly thirty years of age." There were Smyberts and Blackburns in plenty in Boston, besides a few good pictures which had come from Europe with the richer settlers, and now hung on their walls; and during the three or four years of Pelham's married life he, something of an artist as he was, must surely have pleased himself by pointing out their merits to his step-son, and giving all the help he could to the young artist's first attempts.

Pelham died in 1751, and the widow and her sons were left to live in a small house near the Quaker meeting-house, in Lindall Row. In the next year Copley painted a portrait of his step-brother, Charles Pelham, and a year later he painted and engraved a head of the Rev. William Welsteed,[1] of Boston. Major George Washington, visiting Boston in 1755, sat to him for a miniature;[2] and the portrait of General Brattle, in the uniform of a British officer, dates from the year following. Little is known of him in the next few years, except that he painted diligently, steadily improving. His style gained breadth; and his portraits had an air of high breeding so superior to those of Blackburn, that it is likely enough that the elder artist saw the prudence of retiring before his young rival. In 1769 Copley married Miss Susan Clarke, daughter of Mr. Richard Clarke, a distinguished merchant. At that time he moved in the best society, where his courtly manner and genial disposition made him a general favorite.

His pictures show us the faces and forms of the aristocrats of Boston, of the time when there were aristocrats here. Winthrop, Boylston,[3] Quincy,[4] Langdon, Hubbard,[5] Adams,[6] Hutchinson,[7] Hancock,[8] Pepperell, — almost every great name of the day is found in the list of his sitters; so that some one has said that one of these ancestral pictures is a Bostonian's best title of nobility. Their air is worthy of the subjects. Smybert's and Blackburn's people often look like bourgeois; Copley's are all gentle-folk, — fine ladies and courtly gentlemen, who thought well of themselves and of their place in the world. This unconscious seizing and embodying the peculiarities of his age are characteristic of Copley. Like Sir Peter Lely he was a born court-painter: and, like him, he often went too far, and elegance became affectation and even awkwardness. He was not a good painter of flesh, which he left hard and dry; though his hands were always well shaped and delicately moulded. But his draperies were admirable. The costume of the time gave him full opportunity to indulge his taste and skill.[9] Silks, satins, and all rich stuffs, elaborately dressed heads or wigs,

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 222. — Ed.]
[2] [Ibid., p. 127. — Ed.]
[3] [Ibid., p. 453, for Nicholas Boylston, and p. 556 for Thomas Boylston. — Ed.]
[4] [Ibid., p. 121. — Ed.]
[5] [Ibid., p. 455. — Ed.]
[6] [See Vol. II. p. 438, and III. ch. i. — Ed.]
[7] [Ibid., p. 68. — Ed.]
[8] [Ibid., p. 519, for Thomas Hancock, and Vol. IV. p. 5, for John Hancock. — Ed.]
[9] [Ibid., p. 454. — Ed.]

pearl necklaces, laced waistcoats and embroidered coats, swords and cocked hats, curtains whose heavy folds, contrasting with the small heads and slender throats, afford a glimpse of park or fountain beyond, — these outward signs of elegant and aristocratic life were managed skilfully, giving his portraits an air of courtly grace. His method of painting was exceedingly tedious. He used to match with his palette-knife a tint for each part of the face, thus occupying himself and the sitter a long time before he touched the canvas. We hear of one lady sitting to him fifteen or sixteen times, six hours at a time. Yet it is said on good authority that he left more than two hundred and fifty oil paintings in America, besides crayons and miniatures,[1] — all done in twenty years.

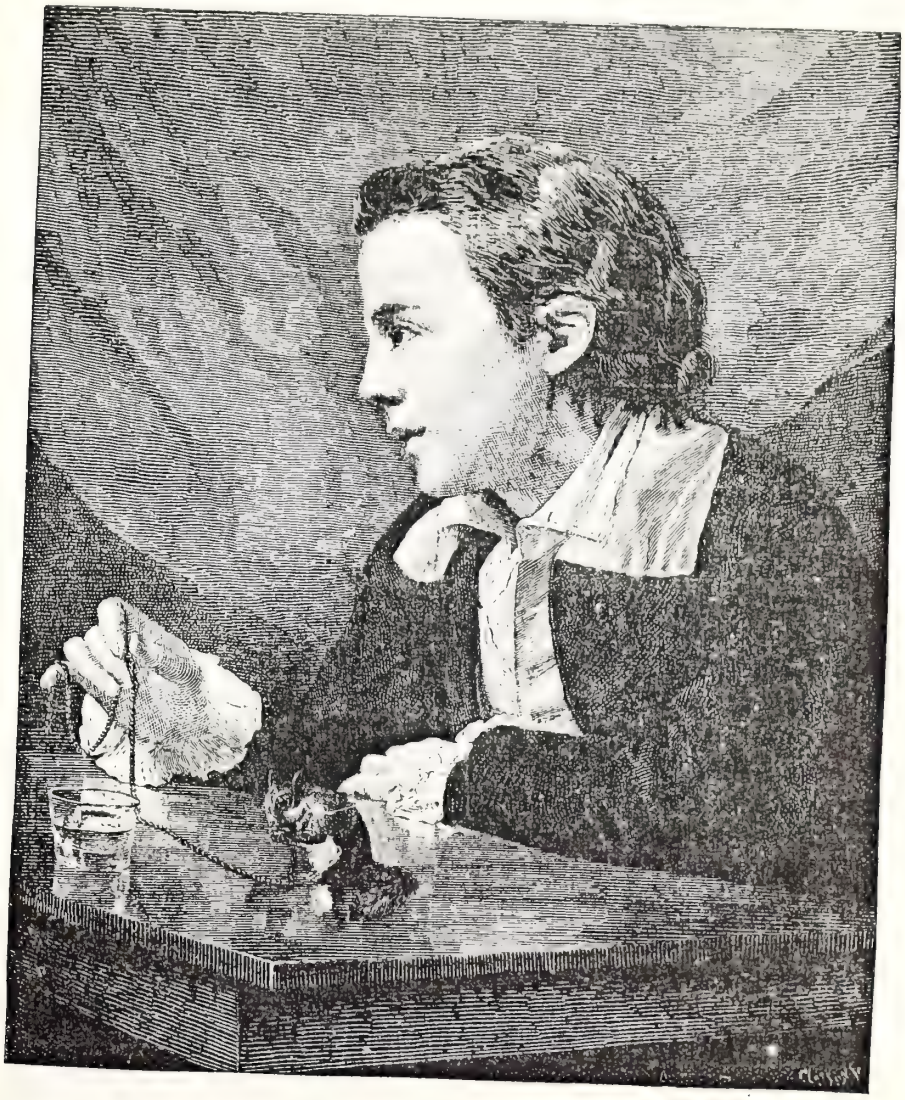
In 1771 Copley wrote that he was making a comfortable income; and two years later he owned all the land which lies between Charles, Beacon, Walnut, and Mt. Vernon streets, Louisburg Square and Pinckney Street, — about eleven acres.[2] Twenty-five years later the estate had risen greatly in value, and was sold by his agent to Jonathan Mason and H. G. Otis. The price, some $18,000, did not satisfy Copley, who tried to annul the bargain, — even, as the story goes, sending his son John to Boston for this purpose. In 1774 he took a step which changed the whole course of his life. Some time previous he had painted a portrait of his half-brother, Henry Pelham, — the "Boy and the Squirrel." The picture is not dated, and accounts differ widely as to the exact year. The painter sent it to England to be exhibited at Somerset House. A letter which should have accompanied it did not arrive; and West, to whom it was consigned, could only guess it was an American picture from the wood of the stretching frame, and because the flying squirrel is an American animal. In his enthusiasm he declared the coloring worthy of Titian. The rule excluding anonymous works was waived, and the picture was received. The praise of the best judges reached the artist and his friends in America. They urged him to go to London. It was a bold step, and he hesitated long before taking it; but finally he went, and never returned. After travelling and studying for two years on the Continent he went back to London, and was soon joined by his family. Then began a career of uninterrupted success. It was his own opinion, shared by later critics, that his best pictures were painted in America. In England, however, he executed several larger and more important works; he was the fashion, and many of the nobility sat to him, including the three princesses, daughters of George III. He took up historical painting, following the fashion of the day, — painting the "Death of Chatham," now in the National Gallery, and well known through Bartolozzi's engraving; "The Siege of Gibraltar," in the Guildhall of London; and other large pictures.[3]

[1] [His miniature of Governor Bowdoin is engraved in Mr. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. xlviii, and N. I. Bowditch's *Gleaner Articles*. — Ed.]

[3] [Among them the large painting of "King Charles I. demanding in the House of Commons the five impeached members, 1641," which now hangs in the Boston Public Library, having been purchased and presented in 1859. See Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 522. — Ed.]

In 1777 he was chosen an associate, and six years later a member, of the Royal Academy. He died in 1815, and was buried in Croydon Church



THE BOY AND THE SQUIRREL.

near London.[1] His son, John Singleton Copley, was later created Baron Lyndhurst, and was thrice Lord Chancellor of England.[2]

[1] [Mr. A. T. Perkins printed privately in 1873 *A Sketch of the Life, and a List of some of the Works, of John Singleton Copley*; and added a *Supplement* later. See also *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan. 1873; an illustrated paper on Copley by his grand-daughter, M. E. Amory, in *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1881, p. 759; Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists*, 71; Cunningham's *Lives of the British Painters*, iv; and Dunlap's *Arts of Design in the United States*. — Ed].

[2] [The future Lord Lyndhurst was born in Boston in 1772, and died in England in 1863. His sister, Mrs. Gardiner Greene, died in Boston in 1866, aged ninety-five. — Ed.]

Another young American, who was to be our best portrait painter, had gone to England two years before Copley left Boston, — Gilbert Stuart. Born in Rhode Island in 1755, he began to paint almost in his cradle; and by the time he was thirteen had taught himself so much that he had orders for portraits. An artist named Cosmo Alexander, here on a visit, was so struck with the boy's talent that he took him back to England in 1772, promising to put him in the way of learning his art; but he died almost as soon as he reached home, and Stuart was left alone. After a two years' struggle to support himself and get an education at Glasgow University, he returned to America. For a year he painted, not without success. But the times were stormy; the colonists had other things to think of besides art; and Stuart, conscious of his deficiencies, and determined to conquer them, sailed again for Europe in the last vessel that left Boston harbor before the blockade, in 1775.

Reaching London, without any introduction he called upon West, who must have seen great promise in his attempts; for Stuart became his pupil at once, and was soon after living in his family, working hard, attending Reynolds's lectures, and studying anatomy. Before long he was assisting West in his pictures; and by 1785 had left his master, and set up for himself; and with immediate success, — no one but Reynolds and Gainsborough getting as large prices for their pictures as he. His house was the resort of clever men of all ranks and parties, half-a-dozen guests finding places every day at his hospitable table. All through his life Stuart's love of good company was next to his love of art, and sometimes interfered with the devotion which art demands of her followers. In 1786 he married; and then made a trip to Ireland, where he had the same social and professional success. But in 1792 he grew homesick, suddenly abandoned friends and engagements, and sailed for New York. After painting there for two years with much success, he moved to Philadelphia; thence to Washington; and finally came to Boston, which was his home for more than twenty years, until his death, July 27, 1828.[1]

Here he gained the same popularity as an artist and as a genial companion which he had met everywhere. Charmed by his powers of conversation, yielding to his wonderful faculty of entering into the train of others' thoughts, each sitter wore his own characteristic expression while in Stuart's chair; and the finished portrait often revealed habits of thought and feeling known only to intimate friends. No artist ever surpassed, perhaps none ever equalled, him in this faculty. "He seemed," in the words of Allston, "to dive into the thoughts of men; for they were made to rise and speak on the surface." Even in his more careless works this quality is hardly ever absent. Like Copley, Stuart painted the best people of his day; but his

[1] [Stuart was buried in the burying-ground on the Common, but the precise spot is not known. He lived and had his painting-room in Washington Place, Fort Hill, and later on Essex Street, near Edinboro' Street. Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 407. During the war of 1812 he lived in the Bartlett House in Roxbury. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, 305. — Ed.]

portraits are so much more individual, each man's idiosyncrasies are so brought out, that the last generation lives for us with a vitality unapproached by the earlier artist.[1]

As a colorist Stuart stands very high, if judged by the best of his work. This was very unequal; and he painted some pictures which were hard and even absolutely bad in color. His best were superb, — the flesh

GILBERT STUART.[2]

brilliant and transparent in the lights, mellow and still fleshlike in the shadows. The balance of light and shade is excellent, avoiding the danger-

[1] [There is an enumeration of these portraits in George C. Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, 1879. The present History contains engravings of the following: Nathan Appleton, Washington Allston, John Adams, Nathaniel Bowditch, Joseph S. Buckminster, Sir Isaac Coffin, Bishop Cheverus, Samuel Eliot, James Freeman, John Sylvester John Gardiner, Commodore Hull, General Knox, Dr. Kirkland, John Lowell, Harrison Gray Otis, Paul Revere, President Quincy, Josiah Quincy (d. 1775), Joseph Story, Washington (two), and Daniel Webster. See also Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists*, p. 107; a Paper on the "Youth of Stuart" in *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1877; and John Neal's reminiscences in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1868. — Ed.]

[2] [This same likeness was engraved in an early number of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and is photographed in the Catalogue of the Art Museum Exhibition of Portraits painted by Stuart, held in 1880. The original picture was painted by John Neagle in 1825, and is the property of the Boston Athenæum. A pen and ink sketch of himself by Stuart is owned by Miss I. J. Falconer, of Brooklyn, N.Y. — Ed.]

ous extremes which he himself pointed out in the words: "Where there is too much light there will be no flesh in the shadows; where too little, not enough flesh in the lights." As compositions, his works are of little value. Caring for nothing but the face and head, and for them as the handwriting of the mind, he slighted all the rest, — "copying the works of God, and leaving clothes to the tailors and mantua-makers." One of his maxims runs thus: "Keep your tints as separate as you can; no blending; it is destructive to clear and beautiful effect: it takes off transparency and brightness of color, and renders flesh of the consistency of buckskin." He did not always observe his own rule; but when he did, his heads are marvellous examples of handling. The flesh glows. At a proper distance the tints melt into each other with a pure richness which has never been surpassed in flesh-painting. Looked at more closely, they are models for an artist in knowledge and certainty of aim and the production of effects by the fewest touches and simplest means.

Stuart said that the most signal mistake of his life was the declining an offer made him in 1792 to go to Nova Scotia to paint the portrait of the Duke of Kent, who offered to send a ship of war for him; but he had come to America with the fixed purpose of painting Washington, at any sacrifice, and the offer was refused. From a pecuniary point of view this may have been a mistake; for Stuart's fame it was a wise decision; for America and for the world it was a fortunate one. He had shown in Europe a fondness for convivial society which interfered with his art. He would probably have yielded again to its temptations, returned to England, resumed his old life, and left behind him at his death the portraits of many lords and ladies; and the world would have lacked those works of his brush in which succeeding generations behold the Father of his Country. Stuart's portraits of Washington are numerous, — most of them reproductions of the head belonging to the Boston Athenæum. This and the companion head of Mrs. Washington were painted to hang at Mount Vernon. The artist preferred it to any he had made, and retained it until his death, having obtained the General's consent to accept repetitions of the pictures in place of the originals.

Although this has thus come to be the typical likeness of Washington, it is a question whether it is the best one Stuart ever made. His own preference may have sprung from a sense of difficulties overcome; for when Washington sat for it, he had just had inserted a set of false teeth, which as he soon after wrote to his dentist gave the lips, both above and below, a pouting and swelling appearance. This defect is much less shown in the portrait painted for Colonel Gibbs. Less mellow in color than the Athenæum head, this has more fire and character. Both pictures show how Stuart dived beneath the surface and saw the mind in the visage. Judgment and self-control, resolution and an iron will, a strong temper held firmly in check, benevolence, sagacity, — all that we so rightly worship in Washington can be recognized by an attentive seeker in these portraits. Fortunate indeed was it that such a painter lived in the time of such a man; and that

he clung to the determination which had brought him back to his native land, and left to it such images of its greatest and purest patriot![1]

In 1826, two years before Stuart's death, the first attempt was made at an Art Gallery in our city, when the Boston Athenæum threw open to artists a room containing a collection of casts from the antique, the gift of Augustus Thorndike, and one or two portraits of benefactors of the Athenæum. The next year the first regular exhibition of painting and sculpture was opened to the public. From that time an exhibition was held every year; and, although the number of works collected was small at first, the movement was an important one, keeping alive and fostering a love of art. As works of art became more common in private houses, their owners lent them to these exhibitions where they could be seen and studied; while from the sale of tickets and by private donations a considerable collection was formed as years rolled on, and this was for a long time the only gallery of the kind in Boston. In 1831 the two Washington heads by Stuart were added, through the liberality of the Washington Monument Association and some private persons. Crawford's Orpheus was purchased, mainly by subscription, in 1844. The Athenæum had neither sufficient funds nor enough space applicable to the purposes of art; and when the Art Museum was opened in 1876, the principal works were transferred to the new building as a loan, and will probably remain there, as they are seen to much more advantage, while the Athenæum needs all its space for library use.[2]

It is not the purpose of this chapter to give the lives of the artists of Boston, nor even a list of them; only to speak of those whose works and lives have influenced the progress of art among us.[3] As far as we have gone, portrait painting was the only branch of art cultivated with any zeal or success. We come now to one who was an artist in the highest and fullest sense of the word, whose whole life was art,—Washington Allston. Coleridge called him "the first genius produced by the Western world," — and his influence on all who came near him, and that which his works still exert, is such as only genius is capable of. Copley and Stuart are remembered as good painters, and nothing more. A halo of poetic memories surrounds Allston's life and lingers about his pictures. "The power of infusing one's *own life* into that which is feigned appears to be the sole prerogative of genius," — these are his own words: they are the key to the distinctive character and charm of his works. Joined to a richness of color worthy of Titian or Paul Veronese are a pure

[1] [See an engraving of the Athenæum head and the note to it, in Mr. H. C. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. The larger picture, called "Washington at Dorchester Heights," is given in Dr. Hale's chapter in the same volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Quincy's *History of the Boston Athenæum*, passim. In 1823 the Athenæum bestowed a life-membership on Gilbert Stuart, "as a testimony of respect for his eminent talents." - Ed.]

[3] [The chief general works covering in some sort Boston's share in the development of American Art are William Dunlap's *Arts of Design in the United States*, and H. T. Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists*. Mrs. Jameson not inaptly describes Dunlap's book as "gossiping, tedious, and conceited;" yet time is increasing its value. There is a paper by Horatio Greenough on "The Beginning of American Art," written in 1843, and printed in *The Crayon*, ii. 178. Mr. S. S. Conant supplied the paper, "Progress of the Fine Arts," in the *First Century of the Republic*, New York, 1876. — Ed.]

sweetness, a repose, a breath of poetry, the outcome of his spirit and life, — an absence of all strife for effect or appeal to any but the best part of a love

Wa. Allston.[1]

for the beautiful, a simplicity and unconscious grace, recalling what those who knew him have said and written of his person and character. The

[1] [This cut follows a sketch by Stuart, owned by Miss Ellen T. Parkman, whose permission has been kindly given to have it copied. Tuckerman records a likeness in youth, painted by Allston himself; a bust by Clevenger from life; one by Brackett, after death; a head by Paul Duggan, for the American Art Union Medal; a statuette by Thomas Ball; and Leslie's portrait in the New York Academy of Design. (*Book of the Artists*, 148.) Harding painted two portraits: one is in the Providence Athenæum, the other in the possession of Mrs. James, Cambridge, Mass. The profile in the *Outlines*, after a cameo by King, is admirable. Allston's *Lectures on Art* were published in 1850, edited by his nephew, Richard H. Dana, Jr.; another nephew, Edmund T. Dana, furnished the account in the *Encyclopædia Americana*; and it is understood that his papers passed into the possession of his brother-in-law, the late Richard H. Dana. Besides Tuck-

poetry of his nature was only faintly shown in his published verses, mostly the immature work of youth. Occasionally, in after years, placing his latest work on the easel of his studio, he recited to a visitor in a sweet undertone lines which had taken shape in his mind as he painted; and these, gathering depth and color from the place and the moment, seemed better than when judged in the full glare of literary criticism. But he never wrote such poetry as he painted.

Born in South Carolina, in 1779, Allston was educated at Newport and Harvard College (1800), and sailed for England in 1801. After two years spent in diligent drawing, and in the best literary and artistic society, he visited France; and at the Louvre, then rich with the spoils of Napoleon's campaigns, he rejoiced in what he called the "*gorgeous concert of colors*, . . . the poetry of color, procreative in its nature, giving birth to a thousand things which the eye cannot see." Thence through Switzerland he came to Italy; and in 1805 reached Rome, where he spent four happy years, — living on terms of friendship with Coleridge, Turner, Fenimore Cooper, and Irving. To Coleridge, Allston declared he owed more intellectually than to anybody else. While in Rome he studied anatomy and modelled in clay, — a process which he declared many years after taught him to draw the human knee; a thing he could never do before, and never afterward found difficult. The color of the old masters, especially the Venetians, was the object of deep study with him, — and with profit; for twenty years later the Roman artists, though they had forgotten his name, asked after him whom they called the American Titian. The years 1809–10 he spent in Boston. He married Miss Ann Channing, to whom he had been long engaged, and opened a studio in Court Street, between Brattle Street and Cornhill, on the same spot where Smybert had painted eighty years before. He executed several portraits at high prices, and returned to England with his wife in the next year. Leslie, the artist, and Morse, famous as the inventor of the electric telegraph, but then a painter, became his pupils and life-long friends. While Wordsworth, Sir George Beaumont, Collins, Haydon, and other men of distinction eagerly sought his society, he labored so unremittingly at his art that his health gave way, and he fell alarmingly ill. His friends nursed him tenderly, until returning health enabled him to finish and send to the British Institution his picture of "The Dead man Revived by the Touch of Elisha's Bones." It was rewarded with the first prize, of two hundred guineas, and pronounced by West to be worthy of the fifteenth (sixteenth?) century. It was afterward purchased by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

erman and Dunlap, there are other expositors of his life and works, — like William Ware's *Works and Genius of Allston;* Charles Sumner's paper in the *Boston Book*, 1850; Sara Clarke's "Our First Great Painter" in *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1865; Mrs. Jameson's account in her *Memoirs;* Margaret Fuller in her *Literature and Art*, ii; C. Lester's *Artists of America;* M. F. Sweetser's convenient little compend, *Allston*, 1879; Irving's recollections in Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature;* also in Irving's *Spanish Papers*, ii. 143; glimpses in J. R. Lowell's "Cambridge thirty years ago" in his *Fireside Travels*, and in Leslie's *Autobiography;* and a portraiture in the Art Novel, *Ernst Carroll*. Dr. O. W. Holmes contributed a paper on the Allston exhibition of 1840 to the *North American Review*, vol. l. — Ed.]

Soon after this he was driven nearly frantic with grief at the loss of his wife; but recovering the tone of his mind under the kind care of Morse and Leslie, he visited Paris in 1817; and later in the year painted his "Uriel in the Sun," which took the prize in the British Institution, and was bought by the Marquis of Stafford. "Jacob's Dream," purchased by Lord Egremont, dates from this year, as well as the first sketch of "Belshazzar's Feast."

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He returned to America in 1818, in spite of the strong advice of Irving, who declared that had he remained in England for a few years longer, surrounded by everything to encourage and stimulate him, he would have been at the head of his art. Allston himself wrote: "Something like encouragement seems to appear in our horizon. If we have any talents we owe something to our own country when she is disposed to foster them." Landing in Boston, in October, he at once opened a studio in a barn on the Prince Estate, near the corner of Pearl and High streets, where he remained several years. He was chosen an associate of the Royal Academy, London, soon after his return. He had brought home with him his picture of Elijah; and it was purchased from his studio by the Honorable Mr. Labouchere, M. P., afterward Lord Taunton, and carried to England; whence it was brought back in 1870 by Mrs. Samuel Hooper, and presented to our Museum of Fine Arts. In 1827 he sent to the Athenæum Exhibition several pictures which attracted much notice. In 1830 he was married for the second time, to a sister of Richard Henry Dana, — the union proving a most happy one; and the next year he built himself a studio in Cambridgeport,[1] which was to be his home for the rest of his life. He had brought from England the large canvas of his "Belshazzar," thinking that six months' more work would finish it. Several liberal Bostonians purchased it for $10,000, advancing part of the price. The picture was set up in his studio; and Stuart, now an old man, was called upon for advice and criticism, which he gave unsparingly and honestly. Allston recognized the justice of the strictures, and undertook a radical change in the perspective, which involved immense labor, and was unfinished at his death. For twenty-five years the great work stood in his studio, carefully hidden from all visitors, but ever present to the mind's eye of the artist. Though he from time to time painted pictures of a size and of subjects better suited to his taste and the quality of his genius, the "Belshazzar" was never out of his thoughts; or if he forgot it for a while, the indiscreet surmises of the public, and the more legitimate inquiries of the owners of the picture left his mind no rest. His modesty took alarm at the glowing anticipations which occasionally appeared in the newspapers. He knew that his friends had formed high expectations from his genius, and feared to fall below them. The subject grew hateful to him. The mechanical labor was too great for his feeble frame; yet, shrinking nervously from showing the picture to any one in its incom-

[1] [His house stood on the corner of Magazine and Auburn streets, and his studio was nearly opposite. Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 193. — ED.]

plete state, he called in no assistance in laying on ground tints and other work which might have been done by a house-painter. Again and again the work was put aside in discouragement, and resumed as a duty; and this went on for twenty years and more, — the mental distress and physical labor gradually wearing him out, — until, after a hard day's work on the unending task, he complained of a slight oppression in the evening, and sinking down in his chair fell asleep, on July 9, 1843.

As the artist left it, — unfinished in many parts, with traces of the former design half obliterated by the new, — the picture was exhibited in the Athe-

TITANIA'S COURT, BY ALLSTON.

næum Gallery. It is now in the Museum of Fine Arts. There are things in it as fine as anything the master ever painted; but, as a whole, it is incongruous and incomplete. Those who can see what might and would have been from what partly is, may study it with pleasure and profit; but it is a disappointment to those who love pictures, but have made no study of art. The work was one to which his genius was adequate perhaps, but his habits of mind and thought were entirely unsuited to it. Such a task needed a hand of more vigor and resolution, — not his rare delicacy of touch, and nature too sensitive for contact with the rough side of life. It was carving granite with a razor; and the blade broke.

This excess of finer qualities in his nature stood in his way in many of his pictures, which bear marks of over-work. He was too fastidious at all times. "Let well enough alone" was a phrase often on his lips, but seldom remembered at the right moment. Secluded in his studio, he kept

a picture before him, touching and re-touching it, unwilling to let it go from his hand, until the life was sometimes worked out of it. After his death some of the sketches found in his studio were published in a volume, through the liberality of Mr. Stephen H. Perkins. They give, in some respects, a higher idea of the painter's genius than his pictures themselves. The golden color, rival of the Venetians', is of course wanting. But, united with the delicacy of everything he touched, there is here a freshness and vigor, a firmness and certainty which his finished works often lack.

In 1839 a collection of more than forty of his pictures had been exhibited in Harding's gallery in School Street; and in the summer of 1881 the Museum of Fine Arts afforded to the present generation their first opportunity of seeing the wide and firm foundation on which Allston's reputation is built, by gathering together about fifty of his works, principally from the houses of Boston families, who possess most of the pictures painted after his return from England.

Although his retiring nature kept him far from the crowd, and only a chosen few came near him; though he founded no school, and there was no troop of admiring disciples to follow his footsteps in life, and spread his fame when he had gone, — his name is still a spell. When we speak of the great artists of the world, who are of no age or country, who lived for art alone, and will never die while art lives, Allston's name rises to our lips with those of the great of old. It is not only that we place him higher than other American artists; he stands apart from them, — the only Old Master of modern times.

Contemporary with Allston, though younger, was Stuart Newton; a painter with that rarest of gifts, — an exquisite eye for color. "Ah, sir, Newton's color is *magical*," Allston often said. His drawing was sometimes faulty; but his pictures, generally small and of the kind known as *genre*, are full of refinement; and his command of delicate humor and simple pathos is remarkable. His works were not very numerous; and on the rare occasions when one is offered for sale here, it is eagerly secured as a treasure. He was a charming companion, and a great favorite in society. He was born in 1793, at Halifax, N. S., where his father was collector of customs; his mother was a sister of Gilbert Stuart. In 1803, after his father's death, he was brought to Boston by her, and the talent he already showed for painting led to his becoming a pupil of his uncle. As neither of them had a very patient temper, the connection was a brief one. About 1815 he went to study in Italy; and two years later, through the advice of the Countess of Albany, he settled in London, where he was intimate with Leslie and Morse. He began by painting portraits, but soon found out that his talent lay more in small pictures of familiar life. In October, 1831, he came to this country for rest and a change of air; and in the next year he married Miss Sullivan, of Boston, and returned with her to England, where he died at Chelsea, in 1835.

Turning to engraving, in order to keep something of a chronological order in our survey, it must be said at the outset that there has never been anything like a school of copperplate engravers in America. Unfortunately for the cultivation of this art, we have surpassed the world in bank-note work; and many who might have reached eminence have been drawn aside to the more mechanical branch, where minute work is the great thing demanded, and artistic qualities are of less moment. In Boston the brothers John and Seth Cheney are almost the only names of importance in the past. Born in South Manchester, Connecticut, in 1801 and 1810, they began to work without the benefit of instruction and with home-made tools. After some years' practice of their profession in Boston, they went to London, where they engraved some of the plates for Parker's Boston edition of the *Waverley Novels*. On returning to this country John soon moved to Philadelphia, where he lived until he gave up engraving, in middle life. The younger brother Seth, after a second voyage to Europe, during which he studied in Paris with Delaroche, and in Italy, came back to Boston, and began to take portraits in crayon. This branch of art he followed with great success, beginning about 1840, and, with one brief absence in Europe, continuing its pursuit until his death in 1856. In 1850 the publication of the outlines by Washington Allston, already mentioned, was undertaken by Mr. Stephen H. Perkins; and the two brothers, who had abandoned their former profession, took up the graver again to do honor to the dead master. It was no speculation or business enterprise, and never paid for its cost. It was a labor of love with the liberal projector and the artists. These brought to the task an exquisite delicacy of touch, and such a reverent accuracy that, as one of them said, he would not presume to choose between the two sides of one of Allston's lines, but gave with three fine lines the middle and each edge of the outline. The result was a volume of perfect execution. The plates and stock were burned in the great fire of 1872, and the book is now rare.[1]

The art of wood-engraving has of late years reached a high degree of perfection in America. Many books and periodicals have been published with illustrations surpassing in excellence anything of the kind produced in Europe. Encouraged by the liberality of the publishers, engravers have come forward, ambitious to lift the art out of the condition into which it had sunk, — where fineness, or rather minuteness, of work was sought at the expense of more artistic qualities. Fac-simile work is less valued, the engraver aspiring to a place by the side of the artist, using his graver as a drawing-instrument, and seeking by proper direction and character of his lines to give texture and quality as well as the values or "color" of the original. Boston is now the home of some of the best living engravers on wood; but in the past we have had but one whose work was worthy to rank with the best, and who helped to advance the art to its present state.

[1] The plates of "Jacob's Dream," "The Ship," "The Prodigal Son," and "Prometheus" were engraved by John Cheney; "The Sibyl," "The Faries," and "Titania's Court," by the two brothers, jointly: all the others by Seth Cheney.

John Andrew, born in England in 1815, came to America in 1848, and to Boston two years after, where he lived until his death in 1870. He was one of the most widely known artists in the country, and his work may be found in the most important books and periodicals of his time on both sides of the Atlantic.[1]

Returning to painters, we must mention James Frothingham, born in Charlestown in 1786, who was for years the best portrait painter in Boston, and yet never had the success or reputation which he deserved.[2] Some of his portraits were excellent in color; and Stuart, after having once advised him to stick to his father's business of chaise-painting, changed his opinion entirely, and said of one of his pictures, "No man in Boston but myself can paint so good a head." Chester Harding, too, born in Conway, Mass., in 1792, although never more than a respectable artist, was, by a strange freak of fashion and for a season, more employed than Stuart himself. Harding wondered at it as much as we must, confessing that he could account for it only by the fact that he was a backwoodsman newly caught and trumpeted forth as a self-taught man. A belief in the superiority of such seems to be one of our national weaknesses. We may learn in time that a self-taught man is apt to turn out a second-rate article. The number of Harding's pictures (mostly portraits) is very large; they are hard as sign-boards, though often good likenesses. Joseph Ames, born in Roxbury, N.H., in 1817, was for some years a popular artist here, principally as a portrait painter. Some of his pictures are excellent in color. His many likenesses of Webster became, like Stuart's Washington, the popular type of the original. After several years' absence from Boston, he died in New York, in 1872.

This was a period in which our artists were, perhaps, as good as those of other cities, yet they have little claim to be mentioned as exercising any influence on art among us beyond keeping it alive. A backward glance over these years is not caught by any figure rising above the crowd and arresting the attention. Our interest in art continued to be of a respectable but rather languid kind, until stirred afresh by the arrival among us of one whose genius gave him authority to speak, while his enthusiasm compelled all to listen, — William Morris Hunt.

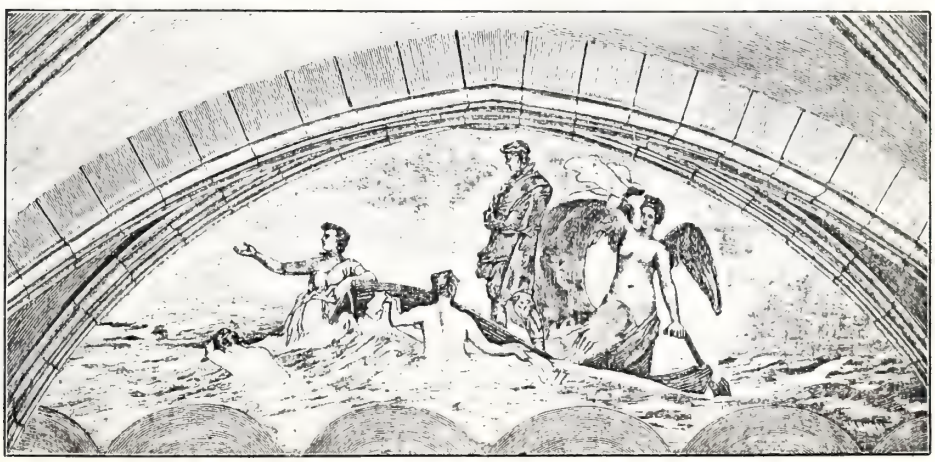
He came of an old New-England family, and his father was for many years a member of Congress. He was born in Brattleboro', Vermont, in 1824, and entered Harvard College in 1840, but did not complete the full term of instruction. He was not a hard student, and gave a good deal of his time to the art for which he was born, painting and modelling with a natural facility which left no doubt of the wisdom of his choice when he determined to make art the business of his life, and quitted college to go to Europe. For a year or two he was at Düsseldorf, and then went to Paris, where Couture, at the height of his fame, was his master, and at once recognized his

[1] [See W. J. Linton's "History of Wood Engraving in America," in *Am. Art Rev.*, i. — Ed.]

[2] [His portrait of Samuel Dexter hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. — Ed.]

great powers. Hunt was tremendously in earnest in whatever he did; and from the days of his student life to the day of his death, his art was the one thing he thought worth living for. After painting for some years with Couture, he became a follower of Millet. But there was no imitation of either master in his work; he judged both, taking what his ripening taste approved, and no more, and combining this with the fruits of a constant observation and intense love of Nature, and an absolute devotion to his art.

In 1855 he came to America, and fixed himself at Newport. Many who had seen his pictures in Paris had come home with high praises of them; and a reputation awaited him which he justified, taking a position as one of the leading artists of America by the side of men twice his age. In 1862 he moved to Boston, and here was his home for the rest of his life. More work than he could do was pressed upon him, especially in portraits, so that he had less time than he wished for other branches of his art; and



THE DISCOVERER.

in summer he often ran away from the crowd to some out-of-the-way nook in the country, and made studies from Nature. The great fire of 1872[1] destroyed his studio, with almost all his drawings and sketches, — the work of more than twenty years. But his energy and industry were unchecked; and in 1877 he gave a private exhibition in his new studio of a large collection of pictures and studies produced in the five years since the fire, — a collection even more remarkable for the variety of subjects and of manners than for its size. It may be doubted if any painter ever lived who could show power in such varied walks of art. It was hard to believe that one mind and one hand had conceived and executed the works which covered the walls.

In the spring of 1878 he spent some time at Niagara, and made several large views of the Falls. Though painted with great freedom, and so hastily as to be rather studies than finished pictures, they were wonderful exhibi-

[1] [Mr. A. T. Perkins communicated to the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1873, a statement regarding the loss of collections and objects of art in this fire. — Ed.]

tions of power. The rush of the mass of water, the mist rising from below and half concealing the opposite shore, all the varieties of color and accidents of light and shade were shown with a truth and poetry unapproached in more elaborate pictures of the same subject. Viewed at a proper distance, they were as good representations of the scene as can be imagined; while artists were loud in praise of their technical qualities.

Hunt's bodily strength had never been great, and he overtasked himself at this work. He was called from it to Albany, to undertake the filling of two large spaces above the windows of the Senate chamber in the new State capitol. After some hesitation whether he was strong enough for the work, he accepted the commission, and spent the summer in Boston making the cartoons. He began the work on the last day of October; and, once engaged on it, he found it so congenial to his taste that he was unconscious of

THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT.

fatigue, and his health and spirits improved; but when the task was accomplished, in the end of December, he found how much the labor had told on him, and went to Vermont for rest. Although not suffering from positive disease, he did not regain his strength. He had been offered the work of adorning the lower walls of the Senate chamber, and had planned a journey to Venice in company with the architect of the capitol to study the great mural works of Tintoretto, which he hoped to rival; but he began to fear that his strength had finally abandoned him when he most needed it to carry out the crowning effort of his life. In July he went to the Isles of Shoals; but he did not improve as fast as he had hoped; his spirits sank, and he was at times greatly depressed. On the morning of July 8 he was missing for a short time. A search revealed his lifeless body floating in a small reservoir among the low hills. At once the news was telegraphed to the press in all directions that he had committed suicide. There was no proof of this; and common charity might have stayed the hand which spread with indecent haste a report which was only a conjecture.

In November, 1879, a large number of his pictures was placed in the gallery of the Art Museum. The collection embraced the whole period of his artist-life, from the time he was a student in Paris; but while it bore the strongest testimony to the power and variety of his genius, it did not show anything like a steady advance in merit, or, indeed, regular progress of any sort. Studied chronologically, the collection showed that in all periods of his career he had from time to time made sudden changes in manner, as if conscious of a wealth of resources to be drawn on at will. He plainly had more ways than one of reaching his aim, and chose that which pleased him best at the moment. The sense of power thus conveyed was accompanied by a conviction that Hunt had not reached the height he would surely attain when he had determined in what path he could best walk. The cartoons of the Albany paintings — his latest works — were also his greatest achievements, fullest of thought, the mature work of his genius. They promised success on a higher plane than he had reached before, — and the hand that traced them was still forever!

After coming to live in Boston, Hunt had opened classes for instruction in painting with a success that made him a power in the community of art. Nothing was ever seen here like the hold he gained on his pupils, and the zeal with which he inspired them. His enthusiasm was magnetic, inducing a like zeal in his scholars, who worked under his inspiration as no classes in our practical, unimaginative community ever worked for a master. And yet it is hard to say how great or how lasting an influence his teaching will have on our future art. It will be less than his followers expect. With all his genius and power, Hunt had no fixed manner of his own. To the last his efforts were tentative. His works give the impression of great power in varied directions, rather than of any such digested knowledge and fixed principles as fit a man to be an instructor in art. He loved originality so much that he hesitated to attempt to teach pupils how to do anything, and only urged them to work with all their might. He roused their enthusiasm more than he instructed them. What has been published of his talks to his scholars,[1] interesting and suggestive as it is, shows how little he chose to teach them *how* to paint. Naturally, too many of them caught up only the trick of imitating his superficial manner, which does not and cannot supply the want of a thorough education in drawing and modelling, and in the principles of color. Hunt himself had acquired these by long years of hard labor; and his teachings presumed that his pupils possessed the knowledge which can only be thus acquired, and which should have preceded his instruction. The consequence is that most of them are imitators of their master's mannerisms, and little more; and imitation is not art.

[1] [*William M. Hunt's Talks on Art*, edited by H. M. Knowlton, was published in 1877. A memoir of Hunt, by F. P. Vinton, was printed in the *American Art Review*, i. An exhibition of Hunt's pictures was given in the Museum of Fine Arts in 1879–80; the catalogue was prefaced by a sketch by John C. Dalton. He fitted up the upper part of the building on the corner of Boylston Street and Park Square for his studio. — Ed.]

Sculpture was later than painting in getting a foothold in Boston, and was for a long time represented only by portrait busts. Frazee, a native of New Jersey, and Clevenger, of Ohio, lived here for a time; and they have perpetuated in marble the heads of many prominent citizens of the last generation. Ball Hughes, a Scotchman of great talent, also resided here, producing many familiar subjects, and modelling a life-like figure of Dr. Bowditch, which stands, cast in bronze, at Mount Auburn. Most of our sculptors have taken advantage of the greater facilities afforded by Italy for practising the art; and Rome and Florence have each long had a number of young Americans seeking inspiration from the antique, and profiting by the cheapness of continental life and the propensity of the average travelling American to bring a statue or two back with him. It is an easy thing now for one of our countrymen to go to Italy and be a sculptor; but it was a far more serious step, not likely to be taken unless by one who felt a real zeal in the cause of art, when Horatio Greenough left home, the pioneer and first founder of the colony of American sculptors in Italy.[1]

He was born in Boston in 1805. He showed a propensity for art from early boyhood, using his knife to carve flowers on the handles of his toys, and making little bas-reliefs of his playmates, and coming tardy to school because he had loitered to admire a wooden eagle over a doorway, and dream how glorious it would be if he could carve such things. At Harvard he lived with Edmund Dana, to whose house Allston came every Saturday evening; and the young student always cut short his weekly holiday and hastened home to listen reverently to the great painter, who recognized in him a true artistic feeling, and encouraged him to choose art as his profession. While in college Greenough offered a design for the Bunker Hill Monument, which was adopted and substantially followed in form and proportion.[2] Without waiting to obtain his degree he set off for Europe, and there spent most of his life, residing principally in Florence, and laboring hard at his profession. His best known works are the "Washington," and the group of "The Rescue," — both executed for the Government, and placed at the Capitol. Much fault has been found with the first, — a semi-nude figure, more like an antique Roman than the hero of the Revolution; but in justice to the artist it should be remembered that it was intended for the rotunda, and that he was much displeased at its removal to the open air, declaring that for such a position he would have made a purely historical statue of Washington on horseback and in his usual dress, and feeling that his poetical treatment of the subject unfitted it for direct and flagrant

[1] [H. T. Tuckerman published in 1853 *A Memorial of Horatio Greenough;* and it is portions of this book which constitute the chapter on Greenough in his *Book of the Artists.* For this colony of American sculptors in Italy, see a paper in *Harper's Monthly*, vol. xli, and chapter xvi in J. J. Jarves's *Art Idea*, whose views are much controverted. See the paper, "Sculpture in America," in *Harper's Monthly*, April, 1879, one of a series of articles by S. G. W. Benjamin, published separately as *Art in America*, N. Y., 1880. — Ed.]

[2] [It is given in G. W. Warren's *History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.* See also Frothingham's *Siege of Boston.* Some of his papers connected with this study are in the manuscript collections of Mellen Chamberlain. — Ed.]

contrast with every-day life. Greenough had a versatile and highly cultivated mind; he thought and spoke much on all subjects connected with his profession, and especially of the philosophy of art in its relations to the institutions and development of this country. Returning to America in 1851, full of high hopes of our artistic future, he impressed all who met him by the generous zeal with which he advocated many projects of taste and utility. Had he lived, his influence in the community of art might have been great; but his hopes were cut short by death within a year.

One of the earliest and best ideal statues in Boston, the "Orpheus," now at the Art Museum, and the "Beethoven" in the Music Hall, are the work of Thomas Crawford. Though he was not a native of our city, and never had a studio here, these give him the right of citizenship, so far at least as to be inscribed on our art-roll. He was born in New York, in 1813, and worked in the same marble-yard where Frazee had been employed. As soon as he could pay for his passage he went to Rome, where he lived a life of hard work and privation for some years. One evening he found he had but one paul (dime) in the world; he spent that for a ticket to the pit of the theatre, and woke the next morning not knowing where to get a breakfast. When he entered the Caffè Greco as usual, the landlord handed him a letter: it was from Charles Sumner, and contained a portion of a sum raised by subscription in Boston, — an order for the "Orpheus." It was the beginning of success. In 1851 Mr. Charles C. Perkins determined to present to the Music Hall Association a bronze statue of Beethoven, and commissioned Crawford to make it. The sculptor eagerly accepted the offer; but, moved alike by personal friendship for the donor and gratitude to the city whence had come his first commission, he declined to accept any payment for his own work. Mr. Perkins assumed all the expense of casting, founding, and transporting the statue to the spot where it is now so appropriately placed, above the stage where the great composer's works are heard, — a monument of the artist's genius and faithful memory, and of the liberality of a citizen to whom Boston owes much for his zeal in the promotion of all forms of art. It is a grand and impressive figure, draped in a cloak brought together in front in rich folds by the hands, which hold a pen and scroll. The head is bent forward on the breast. Simple in treatment and noble in sentiment, the "Beethoven" is one of the best statues we can show as the work of an American hand. Some years later Crawford received an order for the monument to Washington erected in Richmond. It involved immense labor, to which his strength proved inadequate. He lived to complete the central equestrian figure and the statues surrounding the base; but before his task was done he had felt the approach of disease, and after a painful illness he died in London in 1857.

The foundation of the Museum of Fine Arts was the most important step ever taken in Boston for the promotion of art. In 1869, when Colonel T. B. Lawrence bequeathed to the Athenæum his valuable collection of arms and

armor, it was plain that the time had come when a new building was necessary for the Art Gallery. Mrs. Lawrence at once offered to contribute $25,000 towards it; Harvard College agreed to place temporarily in it the Gray collection of engravings; and the trustees of the Public Library, the Institute of Technology, and the Lowell Institute offered assistance. An act of incorporation was procured, and trustees appointed early in 1870. A lot of land had some years before been given by the Water Power Company to the city for a Fine Arts Institute or Public Square, which the city now presented to the trustees, with the condition that the building should be open to all on four days in each month. The public responded generously to the call for funds, so that before the summer of 1871 $250,000 were promised, — Mrs. Lawrence, T. G. Appleton,[1] and Nathaniel Thayer being the largest contributors. Rich and poor joined in the work, the sums ranging from $25,000 to the modest offering of less than one dollar. A plan prepared by Sturgis & Brigham was selected by competition out of fourteen offered; the centre and one wing, being a sixth part of the proposed design, were at once erected, and the Museum was formally opened to the public on July 3, 1876.

Although the Lawrence armor had meanwhile been destroyed in the great fire, the insurance money was used to buy a collection of embroideries and carvings; Mrs. Lawrence had given a room of rare old English panelling; valuable Egyptian antiquities had been received from Mr. Lowell and Mr. Way; and other generous individuals had contributed so many works of art, that, including those belonging to the Athenæum, the whole formed a gallery such as never had been seen in Boston, and promised well for the future. In 1878 more space had become necessary. A new appeal to the public was liberally answered; $125,000, in sums from $5,000 to $1, were promptly contributed. H. P. Kidder, J. M. Sears, Q. A. Shaw, and Martin Brimmer headed the list. The front of the building was now completed. Built of brick, with ornaments of terra cotta, in Venetian Gothic style, it is a beautiful and most characteristic edifice, well described as one which no intelligent person, seeing it for the first time, could possibly take for anything but a museum.[2]

The undertaking has steadily prospered. The gallery of casts is one of the best in the world, embracing late discoveries at Olympia, and a large collection from the Technological Museum. A cast of the Pandroseum is the only full-sized reproduction of a Greek monument ever brought to the United States. It is justly claimed that the first floor of the Museum illustrates all the phases of sculpture in Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome. Donations of works of art have been numerous; and many others have been temporarily placed in the rooms, where they are available for pur-

[1] [Mr. Appleton had been a benefactor of the city, when he bought and gave (in 1869) to the Public Library the large collection of engravings which had been formed in Rome by Cardinal Tosti, — of which a catalogue has been printed by the library. It is particularly rich in portraits. — Ed.]

[2] [A heliotype of the Museum is given in the chapter on "Architecture in Boston," in the present volume. — Ed.]

poses of study. Artists are by courtesy allowed free admittance to the galleries, and copying is permitted of any work, unless the owner objects. The Japanese objects belonging to Dr. W. Sturgis Bigelow form for this country an almost unrivalled collection. Special exhibitions are frequently placed on the walls. Hunt's works were brought together in large numbers soon after his death. Over a hundred portraits by Stuart, — the largest number ever collected, — drawings and paintings by the late Dr. Rimmer, works of living American artists, drawings by Blake, a series of designs by Ruskin, a collection of etchings, and an exhibition of Allston's pictures have been in turn opened to the public.

Saturday has been a free day at the Museum from the beginning; and since 1878 the doors have been open to all on Sunday afternoons, with the happiest results. Crowds of people who have no leisure to visit such places on week-days are present on Sundays, and the good order which prevails shows the wisdom of the plan. The total number of visitors in 1880 was one hundred and seventy thousand. The good influence exerted on the community through such a number of visitors cannot be over-estimated. The Museum becomes a constant educator, supplementing by silent and necessarily unknown processes the work of its classes of instruction.

The most important of these is the School of Drawing and Painting. In July, 1876, the trustees of the Museum voted to grant the use of certain rooms for a school of drawing. A scheme to found such a school was already under way, and at once took a definite shape, funds being provided by public subscription, and a committee chosen to make all arrangements. Mr. Otto Gruntmann, of Antwerp, came over to take charge of the school, and Dr. William Rimmer was named instructor in anatomy, and continued until his death, in 1879, to fill the office for which his remarkable knowledge of anatomical art peculiarly qualified him.[1] The school has been carried on with success, under the supervision of a committee who have brought much thought and experience to their task, and obtained excellent results. The complete scheme of training for the professional student and the amateur is thus described by Mr. Crowninshield, instructor in painting. There are three divisions of the school. In the elementary the pupil learns to handle his materials, in representing the cast, drapery, and, towards the end, life; to this class the pupil is admitted on application. In the middle class he devotes himself to the life, the portrait, drapery, still-life, the antique, etc., in any materials save oils; an examination is the test for admission to this class; a series of lectures on anatomy, shades and shadows, perspective, architecture, color, history of art and costume accompanies the

[1] The Museum possesses the cast of a very remarkable statue by Dr. Rimmer, representing a Gladiator falling backward from a blow on his head. The action is indicated with great vividness; and the wonderful exactness of the modelling, while it excited the admiration of anatomists here, led the best judges in Paris to suppose it was a deception, and cast from a living figure. A striking head of St. Stephen, also by Dr. Rimmer, was cut directly from the granite block, without being first modelled in clay. [See a paper on Dr. Rimmer, by T. H. Bartlett, in the *American Art Review*, i. His "Hamilton" is given in Vol. III. of this History. — Ed.]

daily instruction in drawing. The third and highest class, reached only by examination, is for painters.

With the co-operation afforded to it by the Institute of Technology, the Society of Decorative Art, and the Lowell Institute,[1] this school offers greater advantages than any in the United States. To prove its success, it should not be held to producing any great number of professional artists who shall reach high excellence: not one such can be looked for in a generation; but it may be expected to raise the general level of art; and if it creates a body of intelligent and instructed amateurs, whose judgment, founded on principles and developed by study, is something besides an expression of individual fancy, and who are capable of guiding and influencing the public taste, the value of its work is very great. The erection of a higher and a more fixed standard of art is a thing much needed in our community, which is too self-confident and inclined to insist on being a law unto itself.

Connected with the Museum there is a school of carving and modelling; its main purpose being to make its pupils sufficiently skilful to earn their own livelihood. It has been in successful operation for four years; and though rather an industrial school in its design, it is so surrounded by artistic influences and advantages, that its teachings cannot fail to promote a knowledge and love of art among us.

The Society of Decorative Art has a double purpose. Its charitable, or rather its benevolent, object is to enable persons of culture and talent to turn their gifts to account by disposing of their work, which is examined by a committee, and, if found worthy, placed for sale in the Society's rooms. At the same time the criticisms made by the committee, when requested, and the opportunities of comparison, and the competition afforded by exhibition in the rooms, have during the three years of the Society's existence greatly improved the quality of the work offered, and thus practically raised the standard of taste in decorative as distinguished from high art. Schools of painting on porcelain and of art-needlework, connected with the Society, are doing good work in the same direction.

Instruction in drawing in the Boston public schools has taken a new departure within ten years. Under the old system the attempts were feeble and directed to a wrong end. It would be no more absurd to try to make poets out of all the pupils than to try to turn them all into picture-makers, which is what the old system did; but with so little success that the School Committee, in their report for 1870, described drawing as the feeblest of all the studies. By an act of the Legislature passed in May, 1870, drawing was included in the branches to be taught in the public schools; and special courses of industrial and mechanical drawing were imposed upon all towns of ten thousand inhabitants, while smaller towns were authorized to establish

[1] [See the account of the Lowell Institute in Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education," in this volume. — ED.]

them if they saw fit. Boston was the first to carry out this law; and the first steps were fortunately made in the right direction.

Mr. Charles C. Perkins had just returned from a long residence in Europe, during which he had given much attention to art in all its branches. The Committee on Drawing applied to him for advice. The history of England's experience was familiar to him. He had seen the mortifying testimony of her inferiority at the World's Fair, in 1852, which led to the formation of the South Kensington School; and he had observed the steady improvement in industrial art which that school had effected. The great lesson of that experience was this: that the first thing was to get some one to teach the teachers. At Mr. Perkins's request, the authorities of the Kensington School selected Mr. Walter Smith as the best man for the place. He was however at the head of several art-schools in England, giving him a larger salary than Boston could offer him; and we should have lost his valuable aid had not the State Board of Education, seeing the advantage of basing instruction throughout the State upon one plan, appointed him agent to assist the schools in carrying out the act of 1870. He accepted the joint appointment, and entered on his duties in the autumn of 1871. He had been connected with the present English plan of instruction in drawing from the beginning, and felt a strong interest in aiding a new country to profit by the experience gained by twenty years of successful work at home. The creation of an entire new system was necessarily committed to his zeal and discretion, no formal specification of his duties being possible. To him and to Mr. Perkins, who, as Chairman of the Drawing Committee, has used all his influence to sustain him in carrying out his plans, the degree of success is due which has been reached in ten years.[1]

In 1873 the State Board of Education appealed to the Legislature for aid, and the Normal Art School was established, whose primary object is to educate and train teachers of industrial drawing. The graduates instruct the teachers in the public schools, and supervise the lessons they give. The interest felt in the subject is shown by one fact. In 1880, of the teachers who had not previously earned certificates of competency, all but five had attended the classes provided for their instruction, and were teaching satisfactorily.

The Primary, Grammar, and High schools are viewed as general schools, and in them drawing should be taught, like the other branches of a common education, by the regular teachers. In the Normal Art and Evening Drawing schools it becomes a specialty, needing special instructors. Experience had convinced Mr. Smith that every one who can be taught to write can be taught to draw; and this maxim, the base of the system, has proved true here as it did in England. But to set the scheme in full opera-

[1] For reasons which do not affect what is here said, the School Committee of Boston did not re-elect Mr. Smith in 1881. [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education" in the present volume. — Ed.]

tion required a certain time; and when the system was extended to the High schools, in September, 1880, many of the committee doubted whether the time for the change had quite come.

Beginning in the Primary schools, with the simplest geometric forms drawn on a slate, the pupil goes through a course of skilfully-planned exercises; and before he has left the Grammar School he has acquired a considerable power of designing. In the High School shading and drawing from simple objects are added; designing becomes industrial art, in its application to decoration; and machine drawing is taught. If the instruction stops here, and the pupil goes into active life, it would be hard to overestimate the advantage of this art-knowledge.

Evening drawing schools are open thrice a week, from October to April, to all who will agree to attend regularly; this being the only condition of admission. The course is of two years: one of freehand and instrumental drawing; the second of either one or the other. An examination at the beginning of the second year determines the pupil's place. Professional instruction in studies like architecture or artistic subjects is not the business of these schools, which aim to teach practical branches, like building-construction, machine and ship draughting, etc. There were last year about six hundred students, with an average attendance of fifty per cent; and each pupil, besides receiving class instruction with the blackboard, produced on the average seven elaborate drawings.

Nine tenths of the art exhibition of Massachusetts at the Centennial Exhibition came from Boston. The Normal Art School, therefore, although a State institution, forms a part of our city system of instruction. The teachers of drawing in the five normal schools of the State have all been students in the Art School; teachers in the lower schools are either graduates of the normal schools, or have come more directly in contact with the Art School; so the force and direction of any impulse from this are felt through the whole structure. The full course of study comprises four years; and a thorough mastery of each year's studies, proved by the marks obtained during the year, drawings accepted and approved, and a strict examination, are required before the student receives a certificate in that class and can enter the next. Instrumental and freehand drawing and industrial designs form the first year's work. In the second, painting, theory of color, art-anatomy, ornament, and the various processes of engraving are added. The constructive arts come into the third year; and in the last sculpture, modelling, and casting. Broad as this programme seems, it is thoroughly carried out. The number of students who have completed a full course, — just half belonging to each sex, — is not large. The demand for such accomplished teachers is necessarily small; and many have accepted situations demanding only more moderate acquirements. A certificate of any class in the school is proof of thorough training in the studies embraced therein; and a holder of a graduate's diploma is perhaps as well qualified an art teacher as the world can show.

STORY'S PRESCOTT.[1]

The approval here expressed of our system of drawing-instruction is confirmed by the opinion of the French Commissioners on Education at the Centennial Exhibition. After pronouncing the Massachusetts exhibit to

[1] Mr. William W. Story, in the execution of this statue, showed that his interest was heartfelt. The required sum was raised by subscription, and the statue modelled in Rome in

be the most complete of all that were offered, they declared that if France would defend her pre-eminence in art, all teachers must be able to give first instructions in drawing to the entire school population. These words were written in 1876, only five years after the foundations of our system were laid. Considered in connection with improvement since made, they are a strong approval of the past and encouragement for the future.[1]

A great improvement has of late years been made in all our manufactures in which design plays an important part, showing the influence of trained eyes and hands. Mr. John Low, of Chelsea, is making tiles superior to any of foreign make. His dry or dust tiles, with exquisite designs in relief, are unique; and beautiful effects are produced by a process of nature-printing, impressing the clay with leaf and flower forms. The tender hues and gradation of tint in the glaze are triumphs of decorative art. The plaques in very low relief, modelled by Mr. Arthur Osborne, are wonderful in the effect of perspective and distance. The excellent designs produced at the Chelsea Pottery also deserve mention.

The difficult problem of the proper treatment of modern costume in sculpture can be studied with advantage in Boston, where there are an unusually large number of statues of men of our time. Powers's Webster, in front of the State House, is striking from one point of view.[2] Its companion, Horace Mann, by Miss Stebbins, is a mass of bad drapery. The Everett, by Story, and the Sumner, by Ball, both in the Public Garden, are bold examples of realism in costume. In Ball's statues of Governor Andrew and Quincy, — one at the State House and the other in front of the City Hall, — some advantage has been taken of the folds of a cloak to mask the unmanageable clothes. Where a military uniform or more picturesque costume is possible, the artist could be literal without fear of being prosaic. Chantrey's Washington, although lank and ungraceful, is dignified. Richard Greenough's Franklin[3] (in front of the City Hall) and Winthrop[4] (in Scollay Square) are weak figures, but the first is ornamental. A good manly figure of Sam Adams, by Miss Whitney, stands in Adams Square. Dr. Rimmer's statue of Hamilton, on Commonwealth Avenue, is of granite.[5] The Army and Navy Monument, by Martin Milmore, is a tall shaft bearing a bronze figure of America, surrounded at the base by four statues of Peace, History, the Soldier, and the Sailor. Placed on the highest spot in the Common, it is a conspicuous object.[6]

1880. It was cast at a foundry lately established there, which promises to rival the work of Müller, of Munich. It arrived in the United States just in time to be dedicated on the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill in the next year. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop delivered an address.

[1] [See a paper on "The Study of Art in Boston," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, May, 1879, p. 818. Contrast "Art Schools in New York," in *Scribner's Magazine*, October, 1878. — Ed.]

[2] [Its position is seen in the view of Park Street in the chapter on "The Mayors," in Vol. III.; and there is an account of it in the note to the portrait of Webster, in Mr. Morse's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

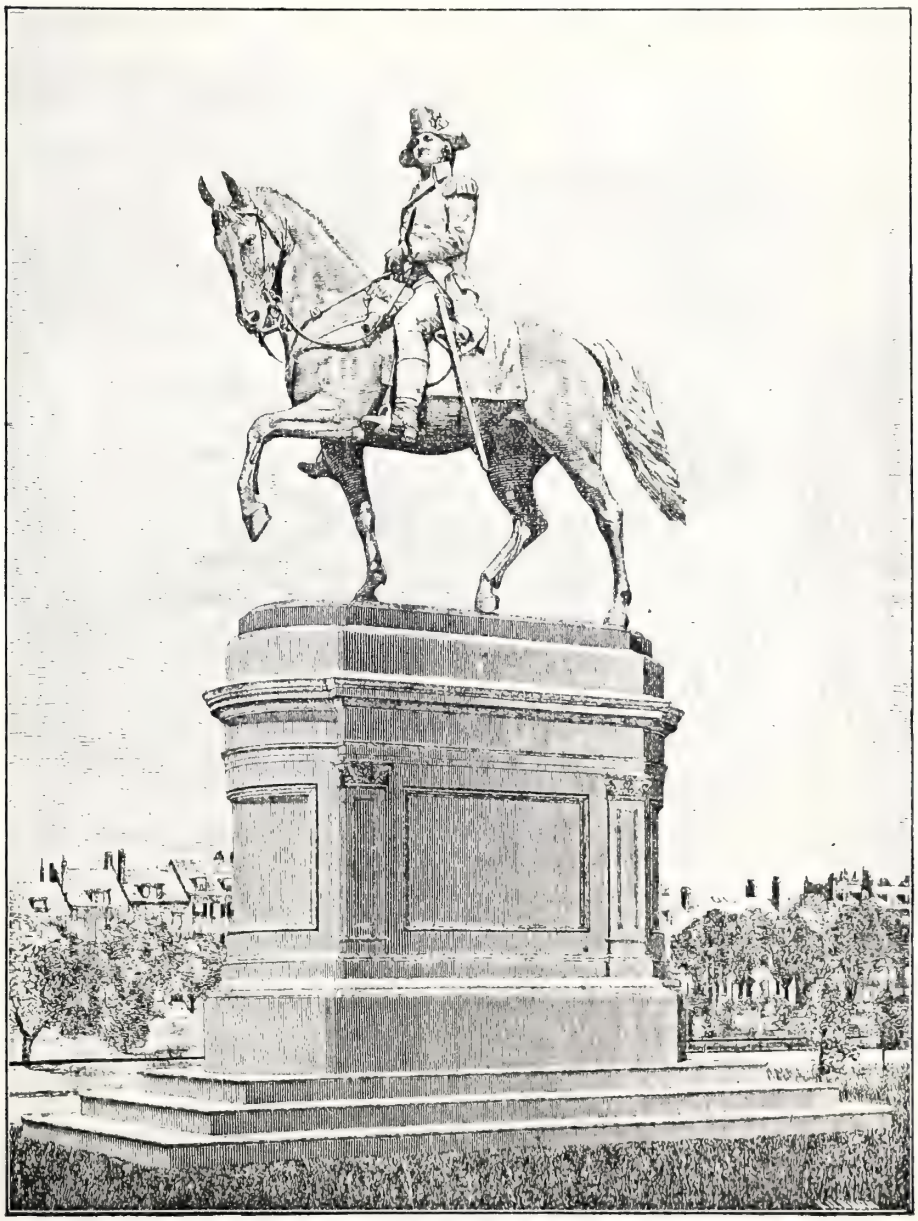
[3] [This is shown in Vol. II., p. 290. — Ed.]

[4] [This is shown in Vol. I., p. xxxii. — Ed.]

[5] [This is given in Mr. Lodge's chapter, in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[6] [This is shown in Gen. Palfrey's chapter, in Vol. III., where will be found an account of this

The most important statue within the city proper is the equestrian figure of Washington, in the Public Garden. The pose and action of the rider



BALL'S WASHINGTON.[1]

are simple, but animated. Seated firmly in the saddle, the General checks his horse, lays his drawn sword across his bridle-hand, and turns his head

and other monuments commemorating the services of Boston troops in the Civil War. — ED.]

[1] [See the note to Mr. Lodge's chapter in Vol. III. — ED.]

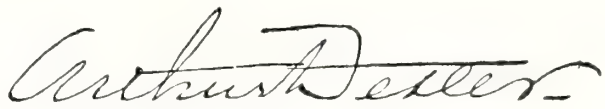
towards the left, with an air of calm and deliberate scrutiny highly characteristic of Washington. The spirited horse, unwillingly submitting to the firm hand on the rein, is in excellent contrast with the dignified and imposing figure of the rider. The accessories are carefully studied; and the whole forms as good a representation as we can have of the hero on the battlefield. The height of the monument is thirty-eight feet. The pedestal is too high; and the consequent foreshortening mars the effect of one of the finest works of art in our city. It was erected in 1869,— the work of Thomas Ball, long a resident of Florence, though born a Boston boy.

On June 17, 1881, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, a bronze statue of Colonel William Prescott, the commander of the battle, was presented to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and placed in front of the monument. It is a bronze figure, nine feet high, representing the farmer-soldier as he appeared on the day of the fight, clad in a loose banian or gown, assumed on account of the heat, in place of his coat. The moment chosen by the artist is that of the advance of the British troops, when Prescott ordered his men not to fire until he gave the word. The left arm is thrown back with a restraining gesture, as if to enforce the words, "Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes!" The firmly poised figure stands in an attitude of intense expectation; and the statue is one of great dramatic power. William W. Story is the sculptor of this noble work. He was obliged to follow the family features, as no portrait exists.

Although the Boston Art Club has existed for a quarter of a century, it is only within ten years that it has become a flourishing institution, established in quarters of its own, under the presidency of Mr. Charles C. Perkins. There are more than eight hundred members; every year several exhibitions are opened to the public, and it does much to cultivate a love of art and a good feeling among the artists. Hitherto occupying part of a house in Boylston Street, to which an exhibition gallery was added, it is now erecting a club-house in Dartmouth Street. That a purely artistic club has so large a roll of members, and is in a flourishing condition, is a good sign.

No city has more genuine love of art or more earnest followers of it than Boston. The zeal of our artists is encouraged by a large and constantly increasing class of the community. All who can look back twenty-five years must see the advance which art has made here in that period. We cannot yet pretend to anything like a national school of art. The eclecticism of the American character fosters imitation rather than individuality. In painting we are of late too much influenced by the modern French school, where dexterity is cultivated at the expense of simplicity and feeling. Yet, especially in landscape painting, our country affords material for success in distinctively American paths which have been little trodden. We are a young nation; the stir and strain of material progress which

fills our daily life are not favorable to the development of art; but a love of the beautiful may bring softer influences into a prosaic age and country. If a more restful period of our career succeeds, it may see fuller fruit than has yet come of the fondness for art which is now a conspicuous and encouraging feature of our people.



CHAPTER VII.

THE HISTORY OF MUSIC IN BOSTON.

BY JOHN SULLIVAN DWIGHT.

TO trace the more important agencies and steps of progress which have brought Boston where it stands to-day in musical taste and culture is all that will be attempted in this brief essay. The whole movement, so to speak, is really included in the present century. Before the year 1800, all that bore the name of music in New England may be summed up in the various modifications of the one monotonous and barren type, — the Puritan Psalmody. Its history, quaint as it may be, is more interesting as one phase of the old Puritan life and manners, than as having any significant relation to the growth of music or of musical taste and knowledge here as such. It would make a readable chapter by itself; but it would not show the germs out of which the musical character, such as it is, of Boston has developed. Music, for us, had to be imported from an older and a richer soil. Let us try to sketch its progress, which, for convenience, we will consider in four periods.

FIRST PERIOD, 1810–1841. — Music, as an independent art, claiming consideration on its own account, not merely as a convenient handmaid of religion, properly began in Boston with the present century, and first took organic form in the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815. That was a small beginning, modest in its aim and its ambition. It sprang, to be sure, mainly out of the New England psalm-singing choir and village singing-school; but these elements, as we have said, did not contain the germs of musical progress; or if they did, there was still wanting the musician, the man of knowledge and artistic power, to quicken and develop them. There was none such here; he had to come from the Old World. There came, we may say, two about that time.

The first was a German, probably the pioneer of all the German musicians who have since sought our shore and done so much to make our Boston musical. Gottlieb Graupner is still remembered and respected as the first important teacher here of the piano-forte and music generally, — a leader in all musical good works, though with a meagre following. He engraved

music for his pupils, for which he kept a salesroom in his house in Franklin Street, in which he also had a little music hall. We remember in our boyhood seeing him lead the little orchestra in the old Federal-Street Theatre, with his double-bass! He was a famous "timist." But his peculiar instrument was the oboe (hautboy). This he had played in London, in Haydn's orchestra, when that great master brought out the twelve famous Symphonies in Salomon's concerts (1791–92). His family preserve the parchment certificate of his honorable discharge from service as oboist in the band of a Hanoverian regiment, dated Hameln, April 8, 1788. In 1791 he went to London; thence he came over to Prince Edward Island; then spent some time in Charleston, S. C., where he landed in 1796 or 1797; there he married, and came to Boston in 1798. Of course he did what he could to make Haydn, and perhaps Pleyel, Gyrowetz, and others, known here, too, in this musical wilderness. With a few associates he formed the nucleus of the first meagre combination which could be called in any sense an orchestra. Of professional musicians there was not half a score in the town; but Mr. Graupner and his little knot of musical friends, mostly amateurs, formed a "Philo-harmonic Society" in 1810 or 1811, which was still in existence when the Handel and Haydn Society was formed. It was simply a social meeting, held on Saturday evenings, in Mr. Graupner's hall for some time, afterward in Pythian Hall, in Pond (now Bedford) Street, where in their small way they practised Haydn's Symphonies, etc., for their own enjoyment. Graupner was president as long as it existed. Mr. Bryant P. Tilden was vice-president, and Mr. William Coffin secretary. When it finally died out we do not learn. Its last concert of which we find announcement was on Nov. 24, 1824, at the Pantheon, Boylston Square. How many members there were, or what their instruments, we cannot learn precisely. There may have been sixteen of them. Mr. Graupner led with his double-bass. For violins they had Mr. Thomas Granger and Mr. Asa Warren; and, we believe, the English Consul, Mr. Dixon, and the well known Russian Consul, Alexis Eustaphieve (whose daughter, Mme. Peruzzi, still living in Florence, was a great pianist for that day), were interested in the club, and lent their aid with violins, if they were not actually members. Mr. Granger, Sr., played the clarinet; Mr. Simon Wood, the bassoon; Mr. Rowson, the trumpet. They also had French horn and tympani, and bass viol (violoncello). The flute was played by Mr. Pollock, afterward by Mr. George Cushing, for many years cashier in the old Columbian Bank, who spent most of his later years in Hingham, his old home, in full possession of his faculties until within a short time of his death, which occurred last summer (1880), at the age of ninety-four, in Watertown. To the end of his life Mr. Cushing was an enthusiastic admirer of Haydn and Mozart, and a stanch advocate of the classical as against the "new-school" music.

These slight particulars are deemed of interest as showing the beginning of anything like orchestral music in the old town. Before there could be oratorios, there had to be some sort of an orchestra.

Another educated musician from the old world, who must have exercised considerable influence, was an English Doctor of Music, G. K. Jackson, for several years the learned organist at Trinity Church, who arrived here just before the War of 1812. He was a man of Falstaffian proportions, who seems to have lorded it among the small fry with a full sense of his own professional importance. Doubtless he, with one or two other English organists of less note, who officiated in some of the half-dozen churches which had organs, introduced here some examples of a higher class of English cathedral music, as well as extracts from Handel, Haydn, etc., in place of the prevailing dry and uninspiring psalmody. We find no mention of his name among the founders of the Handel and Haydn; nor was he the organist in their first oratorios. It seems that since he was not allowed to rule the movement, he preferred to take no part in it. He did, however, fellowship with Graupner, and lent the assistance of his "erudite talents" "at the piano-forte and carillons," in a complimentary concert given to the latter in November, 1821, when also Signor Ostinelli and his future wife, Miss Hewitt, played together a grand duo by Kalkbrenner. Thus to England and to Germany we owe the first musical awakening and most of the subsequent stimulus to progress here.

Of the musical condition of Boston at this time (1810–14), we may gather an idea from some reminiscences of that musical veteran, whose enthusiasm is still fresh at eighty, General H. K. Oliver. He writes: —

"From 1810 to 1814 the writer, a Boston lad, having a high soprano voice, was a singing-boy, with two or three others, in the choir of the Park Street Church, — a choir consisting of some fifty singers, and deservedly renowned for its admirable rendering of church music, ignoring the prevalent fugue-tunes of the day, and giving the more appropriate and correct hymn-tunes and anthems of the best English composers. Out of this choir came many of the original members of the Handel and Haydn Society. There was then no organ at Park Street, the accompaniment of their singing being given by a flute, a bassoon, and a violoncello. At that remote date very few musical instruments of any sort were to be found in private houses. In the entire population of Boston, of some six thousand families, not fifty piano-fortes could be found."

Thus, from that famous Park Street choir, from the little Philo-harmonic orchestra, and somewhat also from the few English organists and choir-directors then established in the town, our ancient Oratorio Society drew the first sources of its life. Nor was the outward impulse wanting which should crystallize these elements into a concrete form. It came in the shape of a Peace Jubilee, after the war with England.[1] The "Gilmore" thereof was, we are told, the high and mighty Dr. Jackson; and it was certainly a graceful piece of condescension in the Englishman to take the initiative.

Concerts, such as they were, were not unknown in Boston during the sixty or seventy years before this (1815). The Hon. R. C. Winthrop, in his admirable address at the opening of the first Musical Festival of the

[1] [See the opening chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

Handel and Haydn Society, in May, 1857, enumerates some of them, dwelling particularly on a miscellaneous "Oratorio given at King's Chapel on Oct. 27, 1789, in honor of President Washington's visit to Boston." After a glowing description of the Peace Jubilee (also in King's Chapel, Feb. 22, 1815,) he adds: —

"Its echoes had hardly died away, — four weeks, indeed, had scarcely elapsed since it was held, — before a notice was issued by Gottlieb Graupner, Thomas Smith Webb, and Asa Peabody, for a meeting of those interested in the subject 'of cultivating and improving a correct taste in the performance of sacred music.' In that meeting, held on the 30th of March, 1815, the Handel and Haydn Society originated. On the 20th of April their constitution was adopted. The following May-day witnessed their first private practising from the old Locke Hospital collection; and on the succeeding Christmas evening, at the same consecrated chapel where Washington attended that memorable public concert a quarter of a century before, and where that solemn Jubilee of Peace had been so recently celebrated, their first Grand Oratorio was given to a delighted audience of nine hundred and forty-five persons, with the Russian Consul, the well remembered Mr. Eustaphieve, assisting as one of the performers in the orchestra."

On this occasion, as we learn from the Programme Book of the last Triennial Festival (1880) —

"The chorus numbered about one hundred, of which perhaps ten were ladies; an orchestra, of less than a dozen, and an organ furnished the accompaniments. The programme was long and varied, and included selections from the *Creation* and the *Messiah* and other works by Handel."

It was not until the seventeenth concert, Christmas, 1818, that a complete oratorio was performed. This was the *Messiah;* liberal selections from it had been given in the previous concerts. The *Creation* came next (Feb. 16, 1819). Musical Boston of that day knew only these two oratorios: the *Messiah* (composed in 1741) and the *Creation* (1798); and to this limited acquaintance with the great composers the old society undoubtedly owes the name adopted in its "green and salad days." The fittest names to figure jointly in one title would obviously now be those of Bach and Handel, the two greatest masters and contemporaries; but probably America had not yet heard of John Sebastian Bach; nor did the founders of the Handel and Haydn Society dream of the devotion with which their successors of the past decade would be studying and performing his St. Matthew *Passion Music.*

Now, for the sake of landmarks, or tidemarks, to guide us in this brief sketch of our musical history, we shall regard the foundation of the Handel and Haydn Society, and the beginning of acquaintance with Handel's *Messiah,* as the first station on our pilgrimage, — the first musical event really pregnant with an important future. From this point we will barely catalogue the work of the society until we reach our second station, about the year 1841.

From 1818 to 1880 the *Messiah* has been given over seventy times by the society; the *Creation*, over sixty times. Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum* was taken up in 1819, and has since been given twice; in the same year the *Sixth Mass* (B-flat) of Haydn, which was sung eleven times to March 19, 1837; in 1829 a *Mass in C* by Mozart was sung; in 1830 Haydn's *Storm*, seven times to 1837; and in 1831 his *Te Deum in C;* in 1833 Beethoven's *Mount of Olives*, eight times to 1837. From 1836 to 1840 was the period in which the questionable taste for Neukomm's compositions reigned. His sensational oratorio of *David* was given fifty-seven times between 1836 and 1859.

Thus the repertoire of the society was as meagre, measured by its present standard, as was the average quality of its performances inferior. Yet it had more than kept pace with the best musical culture of our people; and our "Athens" could at least congratulate herself upon a certain fond familiarity with two of the greatest master-works of the art long before they were much in vogue in any of her sister cities.

With such materials, and with smaller selections from composers of less consequence, the society gave, either in the shape of oratorios or miscellaneous concerts, commonly on Sunday evenings, down to the year 1841, about two hundred and twenty performances, — from one to nineteen in a single year. The first seven were given in the Stone Chapel;[1] the eighth in the First Church; then one hundred and ninety-one (to November, 1839) in Boylston Hall; and numbers two hundred to three hundred and ninety-six in the Melodeon (now the Gaiety Theatre). These were small halls compared with our present spacious Music Hall, the Melodeon seating about twelve hundred people.

The membership has always been confined to the male sex. The ladies sing by invitation. The original members numbered forty-six. Before the first performance of the *Messiah* (1818) there were added one hundred and sixty-two by election; and two hundred and eighteen more down to 1841. Yet during our first period the chorus, male and female, was but small; in 1839 the average attendance at public performances was only about fifty, and the parts were poorly balanced, while some occupants of chorus seats were reckoned "dummies." The time for real chorus discipline had not arrived. The average tone of membership, for many years, was hardly one of cultured refinement; "first families" were not much represented in the ranks; mechanics, tradesmen, market-men, etc., were those who sacrificed themselves in the good cause, and greatly to their credit. No aristocratic English "Mus. Doc." could go in on equal terms in what he probably regarded as rather a plebeian movement; nor would the democratic instinct accept him for president or musical director. How good the singing was, it is hardly possible at this time to conjecture. For orchestra there could have been only an inadequate assemblage of a dozen or more available instruments. During all this period, and indeed until

[1] [King's Chapel was popularly so called for many years after the era of Independence. — Ed.]

1847, the president of the society officiated as conductor. The first president was Thomas Smith Webb, two years; then followed Benjamin Holt, two years; Amasa Winchester, seven years; Robert Rogerson; Lowell Mason (1827), five years; Samuel Richardson, two years; Chas. W. Lovett, two years; Bartholomew Brown; George J. Webb, three years (to 1841); Charles Zeuner; I. S. Withington. The organists were: for the first three concerts, Samuel Stockwell; for the four following, S. P. Taylor of New York; S. A. Cooper and S. P. Taylor, elected in 1818; Miss S. Hewitt (afterward Mrs. Ostinelli), elected 1820, and annually for nine years; Charles Zeuner, 1830–37; A. U. Hayter, 1838–49.

The leading vocalists who sang the solos in the oratorios and other concerts during this period are easily enumerated. It was home talent mainly. Mr. Oliver Shaw of Providence, R. I., who had become blind, gave here four concerts in 1816, moving audiences to tears, it is said, by the sweetness of his voice and by the beauty of his own songs, which were long popular, — such as "There's nothing true but Heaven," and "Sinful Mary's Tears." He was one of the earliest honorary members of the society. Its first president, Colonel Webb, and Mr. John Dodd were also vocal heroes in those days. The leading soprano for some years was a Miss Bennett. James Sharp, from England, joined in 1816, whose fine tenor voice and pure, artistic style of singing were marked features of the oratorios for more than fifty years. From 1825 figured Mr. Chas. W. Lovett, tenor; and the doughty "David" and the "Goliath" in Neukomm's *David*, — Mr. Marcus Coburn, robust tenor, and Mr. Samuel Richardson, a basso of large frame. Mr. George Hews, alto, or counter-tenor, sang in 1830, and for many years thereafter. Mr. B. F. Baker and Mr. Thomas Ball, the sculptor, began to appear as bass soloists in 1837–38. Of soprano and alto soloists before 1830 we find no names; but from that time to 1835 and later there were Mrs. Knight, Miss Gillingham, Mrs. Adams, and particularly Mrs. Franklin (one of the three Woodward sisters, all prominent in the music of that day), who was for many years the leading oratorio soprano. Of visiting artists from abroad, the first who truly helped the cause of good music here was Thomas Phillips, a tenor singer, who, after appearing in some slight English operas in New York and Boston, sang here in oratorio in 1818, and also gave a course of lectures on the art of singing, with illustrations from the best masters in the various styles of vocal composition. In the preceding year Incledon, near the close of his career, had made a passing visit, singing his famous Dibdin sailor-songs. But probably the most distinguished artist during all that period, a revelation to our untutored ears, was Mme. Caradori Allan, the soprano, who astonished and delighted all by her singing in the *Messiah* at Boylston Hall in 1837. Of course the list is very incomplete, nor have we room to be complete in such particulars.

Among the instrumentalities which helped to raise the musical standard in the Boston of that period were the publications of the Handel and Haydn

Society. For choral practice it soon felt the want of works of real genius, music more nourishing than the simple anthems in the Locke Hospital collection; and very soon it issued several books of anthems, masses, choruses, etc., from the best masters, English, German, and Italian. In 1821 (dated 1822) appeared the first Boston Handel and Haydn Society collection of church music, mostly psalm-tunes, selected and harmonized by Lowell Mason, afterward made Doctor of Music by the University of New York. This gentleman, who from this time becomes one of the most prominent figures in our musical activity, and whose influence was long, wide-spread, and various, on the whole for good, was born at Medfield, Mass., in 1792, and died at Orange, N. J., in 1872. At the age of twenty he became a banking clerk in Savannah, Ga. But the passion of his youth, and of all his life, was music, with which were coupled a life-long religious zeal and great business enterprise and shrewdness. He was a manager of men, an organizer of movements educational and popular,—some of them of lasting influence. In Savannah, with the aid of his first thoroughly instructed teacher, F. L. Abel, he made a manuscript collection for his own use, based on the *Sacred Melodies* of William Gardiner, the English enthusiast who wrote that fanciful book *The Music of Nature*. Gardiner had cut and arranged into psalm-tunes many exquisite melodies out of the instrumental works of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and the like. These, with the best tunes then in vogue in England,—and a few American, some of them his own,—formed the basis of the collection which Dr. Mason prepared for the Handel and Haydn Society, and which ran through numerous editions, with improvements and enlargement, year by year. It was a wholly new, bold venture on the part of the society; nor was it undertaken until the learned Dr. Jackson had set his seal of approval on the contents of the book, adding a few compositions of his own. It soon passed into the New England "singing-schools," and thence into the choirs; and psalm-book making has been a prosperous branch of trade from that day to this.

In 1837 some discontented elements in the old society, unfortunately for both, withdrew and formed a new oratorio society,—the Musical Institute of Boston,—with Bartholomew Brown and the Hon. Nahum Mitchell for its first two presidents, and Ostinelli and Thomas Comer, of the Tremont Theatre, for musical directors. For several years it gave concerts in the Masonic Temple (now the United States Court House), its most important production being that of Mehul's *Joseph and his Brethren*, which is properly an opera. It also brought out a sensational and short-lived oratorio, the *Sceptic*, under the direction of the composer, Russell, a popular ballad-singer of the day.

Outside of these oratorio societies there was not much else in Boston, either in the way of schools or musical performance, which can be supposed to have exerted any very material influence on the progress of musical taste or knowledge during this whole period. Concerts were few, and far from classical; programmes very miscellaneous and of slight material. Great

artists, either vocal or instrumental, had hardly begun to find their way to this haunt of the east wind. There were no orchestral concerts; symphonies, since the days of those Philo-harmonic amateurs, were unheard; the same of chamber-music, violin quartets, etc. The Siren of Italian opera had not begun to practise here her spells. There had only been a few slender efforts in the shape of English opera at the old Tremont Theatre (now Temple). The music of polite society consisted mostly of Moore's Irish melodies and the old Scotch and English ballads, with possibly some pieces from Italian and from Mozart's operas, and the duets of that fashionable European teacher and composer Blangini, whose list of pupils has been said to "read like Leporello's catalogue, as it includes three queens, twelve princesses, twenty-five countesses," etc. Boston had, however, a few glee-clubs, thanks to the enthusiasm mainly of Mr. Wm. H. Eliot. The harp was perhaps better known in parlors then than it is now; that twilight sentimental instrument vanishing before the sunrise of high art. The piano-fortes, then comparatively few, tinkled with popular melodies, marches, variations, by Kalkbrenner and others, and show-pieces like the *Battle of Prague;* although some of the sonatas of Mozart and Beethoven had found a home in certain houses. The concert programmes corresponded. Very popular in those last years were the English ballad-singers, — Wilson with his Scotch songs; Russell with his *Maniac* and *Life on the Ocean Wave;* Dempster with his sentimental Tennyson's *May Queen;* and Mr. J. P. Knight, whose programmes were more classical and made appeal to better taste.

Much might be learned of the musical tastes of that period from a list of the publications which were in demand; but no chronological lists are possible so long as music publishers refuse to date their issues, — probably acting on the same principle on which women are maliciously accused of trying to conceal their age.

Among other incitements and sweet opportunities, the music-loving school-boy of the period (about 1825) must not refuse the debt of gratitude to the military band which, under the name of the Brigade Band, would tempt his feet to follow through the streets beyond the city's bounds, though he might find the homeward journey tiresome without the music. Many a Boston boy caught the tuneful fever from those dulcet and inspiring strains. And that was a real band; it had clarinets and flutes and oboes, bugles and French horns (some famous players too!), and was not the mere band of brass now used to penetrate the Babel of street noises. Moreover it played good music, — notably a large number of good German marches composed by one Walsch, which were arranged and adopted into the repertoire of the little Pierian Sodality of Harvard College.[1]

[1] It will surprise some to learn that musical Boston in those days of its infancy was not without its musical journals. As early as 1820–21 Mr. John Rowe Parker owned and edited the *Euterpeiad*, a fortnightly *Musical Intelligencer*, of really high tone, in every way respectable, and ably seconding the efforts of those who were trying to elevate the standard of musical art, free from all the meretricious and commercial features of so many modern periodicals devoted nominally to music. In the second year he added to each number an appendix or *Gazette* for

SECOND PERIOD, 1841–52. — As Handel's *Messiah* stands for the central figure thus far, marking the first stage in our musical development, so now we place another figure at the beginning of a second period, — say from 1841 to 1852. Beethoven, bringing the *Fifth Symphony*, stands there at the entrance of a yet richer garden of enchantment, beckoning us on the way that we should go. Beethoven's symphonies were first heard in Boston in the year 1841, and onward; and, strange to say, these were our first initiation into the glories and the mysteries of the symphonic form of art. We were introduced to its profoundest, greatest master, with no preparatory schooling in the simpler creations of his predecessors, Haydn and Mozart. As Handel came to us through the Handel and Haydn Society, Beethoven came ushered in by the long-since defunct Boston Academy of Music, which thus set the crown upon its many useful labors. And now, this second station gained, we have to look back a few years.

The Academy existed earlier, although its centre of gravity falls here. It was founded Jan. 8, 1833. Its aim was educational. It sprang from the suggestion of Mr. William C. Woodbridge. This gentleman, on a tour through Europe, had been struck by the attention paid to music as a part of early education in several of the countries which he visited, and became convinced of its good effects and of its practicability as a branch of common education here. He found ready listeners and coworkers in those practical educators Lowell Mason and George J. Webb, and in the Hon. Samuel A. Eliot; and the Academy of Music was established, with Mr. Eliot as president, and under the immediate direction of the two former gentlemen as principal professors. Other teachers were enlisted; among them, in the instrumental department, Henry Schmidt, the able violinist, and Joseph A. Keller, for years at the head of the musical instruction at the Perkins Institution for the Blind. "The experiment succeeded beautifully," said Mr. Eliot.[1] In the course of the second year juvenile and adult classes had been established, and gratuitous vocal instruction given to nearly one thousand children and to from four hundred to five hundred adults. It introduced music into the public schools, — Messrs. Mason and Webb first trying the experiment in several schools, to the entire satisfaction of the masters and the school committee. It formed classes for teachers in music. The choir of the Academy already counted one hundred members of both sexes, trained to nice performance of good music. This choir had given six oratorio concerts, in which selections from the best masters were sung with organ accompaniment, and had furnished music on several civic occasions. Lectures, with illustrations, were given in various churches, and in other

the ladies, which was called the *Minerviad*. In the last years of this period appeared two more journalistic ventures. In 1838 flourished, for one year at least, the *Boston Musical Gazette*, edited by Bartholomew Brown; and in 1839–41 the *Musical Magazine* of Theodore Hach, a work of real value, an earnest, able advocate of musical progress in the best sense. Mr. Hach, a German of intelligence and culture, in the few years which he spent here figured as the principal violoncellist in the concerts of the Academy, and his return to Europe was felt to be a real loss to Boston.

[1] *Address at the Opening of the Odéon*, Aug. 5, 1835, by Mr. S. A. Eliot, the president of the Academy.

towns and cities. The method of the professors was embodied by Mr. Mason in the *Manual* of the Boston Academy of Music, based on the Pestalozzian system, for the use of teachers. The Academy also published its own *Collection of Church Music*. Letters of inquiry from all parts of the Union showed that the new influence was felt beyond Boston and the State.

By this time the need of a suitable building for the now crowded school-rooms, exhibitions, oratorios, and concerts of the Academy was felt; and, fortunately, a lease was obtained for a term of years of the old Boston (Federal Street) Theatre, haunted with memories of the elder Kean, Cooper, Conway, and so many famous actors.[1] This was remodelled so as to afford school and lecture rooms, a spacious stage, and a comfortable auditorium, seating fifteen hundred persons in its parquet and four galleries, with standing-room for about one thousand more. It took the Greek name of the Odéon, and was dedicated, with an address by the Hon. Samuel A. Eliot, Aug. 5, 1835. Here until 1843 the work of the Academy went on, concerts coming more and more into the foreground.

In 1839 Mr. Hach, in his *Musical Magazine*, exhorts the Academy to make itself in fact, if not in name, a real Musical Conservatory, like those in Europe. In that year Mr. Schmidt formed the nucleus of an Academy orchestra with an amateur club. These amateurs played with him a Mozart-ish symphony by Romberg, and several good overtures of the light and pleasing order; and among things sung that season were a madrigal by Wilbye, a chorus from Graun's *Tod Jesu*, a duet from Rossini's *Mosé*, and Romberg's *Harmony of the Spheres*. In 1840 Hach gathers courage, and says: —

"The establishment of the Academy of Music in Boston will do more to advance the art among us in ten years than the New York Opera could have effected in ten centuries. . . . And what are the pieces that week after week draw two thousand of our fellow-citizens at a time to the Odéon? Certainly not of a low order of music, but selected from the highest productions of the art, — the compositions of Haydn, of Mozart, of Neukomm, of Romberg, and other great masters."

Yes, O Hach! and a yet greater master stands even now at the door, presently to enter with footstep as resounding and with presence as impressive as the "l' uom di sasso" in *Don Juan*. Mr. Hach ventures to say that the *Creation* at that time was as well known and as popular in Boston as in its birthplace, Vienna. That year the Academy sang Haydn's "Spring" (*Seasons*) and first part of the *Creation*, a psalm by Fesca, a chorus by Righini, a cantata by Zumsteeg, etc. The *Freyschütz* overture began to be played. There were organ performances by Mr. F. F. Müller, violin solo by Mr. Schmidt, etc.

In 1841 Romberg's music to Schiller's "Song of the Bell" was given January 2, the translation of the poem being by S. A. Eliot. The next

[1] [See the chapter on the "Drama" in the present volume. — Ed.]

concert (January 16) was wholly instrumental, — Romberg symphony, overtures to *Anacreon* (Cherubini), *Masaniello*, Weber's *Jubilee*, and solos. We see where all this is tending. The first phase of the Academy has passed the full, and is now on the wane. The didactic, pedagogic, choir, "convention," psalm-book making mission is exhausted, the master spirits thereof tempted into larger business in richer fields and pastures new; it must turn over a new leaf now, or find its occupation wholly gone. The ninth annual *Report* speaks of the first and chief end of the Academy as now accomplished; it has secured access to elementary musical instruction for every child within its reach; and the *Report* proceeds to state that differences between its professors had arisen, resulting in their separation; and that "instead of continuing its vocal concerts, in which it cannot do more or better than its neighbors, the Academy has concluded to engage the best orchestra it can afford, and give classical instrumental concerts." The day of the Symphony in Boston has come! Beethoven enters; we have reached our second station. A new era has begun for us in music. Doubtless we owe this wise resolve, this new departure, to the sagacity, the taste, the public spirit of his Honor the Mayor of Boston at that period, Samuel A. Eliot, president of the Academy throughout its whole career.

In the eight concerts of the season ending in February, 1841, the Academy brought out two of Beethoven's symphonies (first time to Boston ears), namely, the *First* and *Fifth*, besides one by Romberg. The precise date of the first performance of the immortal number *Five* (C-minor) we do not find.

For seven winters these symphonic feasts were continued regularly at the rate of six or eight each season, for the most part in the Odéon (though finally they were compelled to take refuge in the Melodeon), until the public patronage fell off, and they came to an end, ever regretted by "the appreciative few," in the spring of 1847. The programmes, from an educational point of view, were most judicious: always a noble symphony, commonly by Beethoven, occasionally by Mozart, Haydn, Mendelssohn; while for relief and recreation after the close attention these required, there were always two or three light, captivating overtures by genial composers like Rossini, Auber, Reissiger, Lindpaintner, and Carafa. Nor was there wanting "milk for babes" in the shape of instrumental solos, songs, duets, and choruses, — the last especially in the later seasons, when the Musical Education Society, a well balanced choir of one hundred voices, organized within the Academy and trained by Mr. Webb, took part. This society outlived its parent, and grew up to greater work, as we shall see. Six of the nine Beethoven symphonies became more or less familiar in these concerts; the *Fifth* was the great favorite, and was given more than a dozen times; number *Seven*, at least nine times; the *Pastoral* and number *Four*, some four times each. Mendelssohn's *Scotch* symphony figured twice; a prize symphony by V. Lachner, twice; and one by Romberg. In one of the earlier concerts there were two symphonies, — the *Militaire* of Haydn,

and the "Jupiter" of Mozart. In one programme only we find no symphony, but instead thereof six (!) overtures. These overtures, especially Auber's, were played over and over, year after year, — more wholesome food than much of the light, or of the heavy, "effect" music more recently and even now in vogue. But overtures of higher character were not neglected; for instance, Beethoven's to *Egmont*, *Fidelio*, and *Prometheus*; Weber's *Freyschütz*; Mozart's *Titus*; Mendelssohn's *Hebrides* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The instrumental solos were for violin or 'cello, reeds or flute, and were commonly of a respectable order. The age of brass had not arrived. The virtuoso of the cornet (always going out of its own sphere to ape flute variations, or to parody some love-lorn tenor's swan-song) had not begun to haunt the concert room. For solo singers the Academy could not afford famous prima donnas, but it was thoughtful in the employment of acceptable domestic talent.

Here then was a foundation laid for musical culture in a good direction. Here was development. These opportunities, for those who improved them, had been for seven years implanting seeds and principles of higher, purer taste, and had raised the standard in what was demanded of concert givers, singers, teachers, and musicians. What though a "popular" reaction against entertainments of so intellectual and "classical" a standard might spring up occasionally? The best must always meet resistance, now as well as then; the victory never rests entirely undisputed; the struggle has to be renewed. Nevertheless the seeds are sown; they will spring up anew, however often trampled down. Such a reaction did, before these concerts were abandoned, raise its head under the misnomer of a "Philharmonic" Society (about 1844), which devoted itself for several seasons to a more showy, "popular," and miscellaneous class of concerts.

The orchestra of the Academy must have been a small one, — from twenty-five, perhaps, to forty instruments, — and made up in part of but indifferent materials. For two or three years it was conducted by tall Henry Schmidt, violin in hand. The annual *Report* of 1843 congratulates the society on having for the first time a conductor with *batôn*, not playing in the orchestra himself. This was Professor Webb, supported by Mr. William Keyzer, from Holland, an old conservative, intelligent musician, at the head of the violins, and sometimes officiating as conductor. Under their reign things went on in a respectable and quiet way, with few concessions to bad taste; though there can be little doubt that the decline and dying out of this most admirable movement was hastened by the want of vigorous young life in the conductorship. But it will readily be seen that that early experience of seven years' exposure to Beethoven programmes must, in spite of all shortcomings in performance, have set Boston well upon the way to an appreciation of the best in music. Many can remember how eagerly these concerts were sought, how frequently the audience was large, and what a theme of enthusiastic comment and congratulation these first fresh hearings of the great masters was. And what willing ears were those that

listened? What souls were most susceptible to the new, quickening influence? To what ideas, what sympathetic phase of thought and aspiration did those harmonies appeal? Partly, of course, to those most musically taught already; partly to those trusting in authority; but largely also to a peculiar element then stirring in the intellectual and social life of this community, to minds in sympathy with what was idly called the "transcendental" movement, — that class of young enthusiasts for culture, in the freest, highest sense, with whom Emerson (although not musical) and Beethoven came in, it may be said, together.[1]

Regarding those orchestral concerts as the Academy's most fruitful contribution to the musical development of Boston, we must, before taking leave of it, sum up in a few words the various activities of its earlier and purely educational period (1833–40), during which those noted teachers, Lowell Mason and George J. Webb, were its master spirits. It taught the elements of vocal music to the people, — children and adults. It carried music into the public schools. It taught how to teach, both in its classes and through that peculiarly New England institution the "musical conventions," which drew together choristers and teachers from the country for whole weeks at a time, giving a new stimulus, and diffusing through them many practical ideas, as well as every year the new *Collection* of psalmody, for which the convention was the annual fair and market, until the multiplication of that sort of ware threatened to bury real music out of sight. It formed choral clubs and classes. It published glee and chorus books, as well as psalms and chants and anthems, a *Common School Songster*, a

[1] For fuller explanation of this hint the writer would refer to certain reminiscences of his own in the *Atlantic Monthly* of September, 1870, of which an extract follows: —

"For, be it remembered, the first great awakening of the musical instinct here was when the *C-minor Symphony* of Beethoven was played, thirty years ago or more, in that old theatre, long since vanished from the heart of the dry-goods part of Boston, which had been converted into an Odéon, where an Academy of Music gave us some first glimpses of the glories of great orchestral music. Some may yet remember how young men and women of the most cultured circles, whom the new intellectual day-spring had made thoughtful and at the same time open and impressible to all appeals of art and beauty, used to sit there through the concert in that far-off upper gallery, or sky-parlor, secluded in the shade, and give themselves up completely to the influence of the sublime harmonies that sank into their souls, enlarging and coloring thenceforth the whole horizon of their life. Then came the Brook Farm experiment; and it is equally a curious fact, that music, and of the best kind — the Beethoven Sonatas, the Masses of Mozart and Haydn — got at, indeed, in a very humble, home-made, and imperfect way, was one of the chief interests and refreshments of those halcyon days. Nay, it was among the singing portion of those plain farmers, teachers, and (but for such cheer) domestic drudges, that the first example sprang up of the so-called Mass Clubs, once so much in vogue among small knots of amateurs. They met to practise music which to them seemed heavenly, after the old hackneyed glees and psalm-tunes, — though little many of them thought or cared about the creed embodied in the Latin words that formed the convenient vehicle for tones so thrilling. The music was quite innocent of creed, except that of the heart and of the common deepest wants and aspirations of all souls, darkly locked up in formulas till set free by the subtile solvent of the delicious harmonies. And our genial friend who sits in *Harper's* 'Easy Chair' has lately told the world what parties from 'the Farm' (and he was 'one of them') would come to town to drink in the symphonies, and then walk back the whole way (seven miles) at night, elated and unconscious of fatigue, carrying home with them a new good genius, beautiful and strong, to help them through the next day's labors. Then, too, and among the same class of minds (the same 'Transcendental set'), began the writing and the lecturing on music and its great masters, treating it from a high spiritual point of view, and seeking (too imaginatively, no doubt) the key and meaning to the symphony, but anyhow establishing a vital, true affinity between the great tone-poems and all great ideals of the human mind. In the *Harbinger* (really in music the embryo of *Dwight's Journal*), for years printed at Brook Farm; in the *Dial*, which told the time of day so far ahead; in the writings of Margaret Fuller and others, — these became favorite and glowing topics of discourse; and such discussion did, at least, contribute much to make music more respected, to lift it in the esteem of thoughtful persons to a level with the rest of the 'humanities' of culture, and especially to turn attention to the nobler compositions, and away from that which is but idle, sensual, and vulgar."

[See the chapter on "Philosophic Thought in Boston," in the present volume. — Ed.]

teacher's *Manual*, and a translation of Fétis's useful treatise, *Music Explained to the World*. It probably created an inducement for other good publications, like that long series of *Gems of German Song*, carried on for years by G. P. Reed. It gave lectures on music. It created a higher kind of interest in music, and prompted a number of young men (one or two of them graduates of Harvard) to seek an artistic education in the schools of Europe. It multiplied concerts until our city became a point of attraction to travelling artists from abroad, like the violinists Nagel and Herwig, the violoncellists Knoop and Bohrer, and those pioneers to us of the best classical and modern piano-forte music, the Brothers Rackemann, who were the first to give us Thalberg, Henselt, Chopin, Liszt, Stephen Heller, as well as the sonatas of Beethoven. It was harder for pretenders to gain ground here after that. Then in 1844 came two of the most famous virtuosos of the violin, — Ole Bull, who charmed the multitude, and Vieuxtemps, who won the cultivated ear and taste; followed in 1846–47 by Sivori, one of the most genial interpreters of classical composers. Henri Herz, about the same time, played for us in person those ornate and flowery piano-forte fantasias and variations which were already much in vogue in parlors.

The Academy Concerts came to an end in the spring of 1847 (the very year when the Siren of Italian Opera began to work her countercharm!), and were succeeded in the fall by those of the Musical Fund Society. This was an organization of the musicians themselves, for mutual encouragement and for the establishment of a relief fund. They formed an orchestra more numerous than select, and gave concerts every season to the end of our present period (1852), and for some years later in the new Boston Music Hall, under the direction for some years of Mr. C. H. Müller and Mr. Thomas Comer. It was a league of interest. Managed by musicians who looked to music for their daily bread, it did not, at the outset, trust itself to follow in the classical and unrewarding path of the Academy, but made large concessions to that popular taste already fed by miscellaneous "Philharmonic" programmes, and now exposed to the more irresistible temptation of the Italian Siren. For a time singers were of more consequence than symphonies, and virtuosity more honored and admired than art.

A glance at the Fund's old programmes is suggestive. Symphony seems to have been voted a bugbear. There was none at all in the first concert (November, 1847), but four overtures, with songs, duets, etc. The second and third concerts offered, for a startling novelty, the one piece of mere sensational "effect" music which Beethoven ever condescended to write, and that to oblige his friend Maelzel, — the *Battle of Vittoria* symphony, so called, but not one ever mentioned with the nine! With it, however, were coupled two of the overtures which never lose their interest, — Rossini's to *William Tell*, and Sterndale Bennett's *Naiades*. One other symphony was ventured upon that season, chiefly for its curious history, — the *Farewell*, by Haydn. There were plenty of overtures; solos and quartet for flutes;

piano solos; once, a piano quartet with violins, etc., in which the then noted singer and composer Charles E. Horn took the principal part; and there was a Mozart aria, sung by Miss Anna Stone, already for some years famous in the oratorios.

In the following years, that refined and classical musician Mr. George J. Webb being the conductor, the great symphonies recovered their place. The *Eroica* and the *Fourth* were added to the six already familiar ones of Beethoven; the *Italian* to the *Scotch* of Mendelssohn; also Mozart's model *Symphony in G-minor*, and the *Surprise* of Haydn. Other additions to the repertoire were Beethoven's great *Leonore Overture;* Hummel's *Septet,* with Mr. H. Perabeau for pianist; Mendelssohn's *Violin Concerto,* played by August Fries; a *Concerto* by Hummel, and Mendelssohn's *Capriccio in A-minor*, played by William Scharfenberg; Beethoven's *C-minor Piano Concerto* (Mr. G. F. Hayter); a *Concert Overture* by Gade; and the overture to *Waverly*, by Berlioz. On two occasions organ fugues of Bach were played by Mr. J. E. Goodson, from England. Among the singers who appeared were Mme. Biscaccianti, Signor Corelli, Mr. J. L. Hatton, Signor Novelli, Signora Truffi, Mme. Stephani, Signor Perelli, Mr. Arthurson (a fine English tenor and a model in pure recitative), Mme. Anna Thillon, and Mrs. Bostwick. The Musical Fund Concerts were commonly given in the old Tremont Temple, then the largest hall in Boston. Public afternoon rehearsals, too, were given at a low price of admission, placing such music within the reach of all who cared for it; so that, although they had swerved for a season from the classical traditions of the Academy, these Fund Concerts must have contributed essentially to the creation of a taste among our people for the music of the masters. They were continued through eight seasons; the last of which we find mention was in April, 1855, and in the new Boston Music Hall.

The weakness of the orchestra of that day was the want of finished technical performance, and of an infusion of young life and spirit into the conductorship, respectable and high-toned as it was. Already there had come to us a quickening example, from which something could be learned. That miniature but model orchestra from Germany, the Germania Musical Society, began to visit Boston in the spring of 1849. It soon supplanted its forerunners, which made flying visits here, — the Steyermarkers (under F. Rziha) in 1846; the Saxonians (Kotzschmar) in 1848; and Gungl's Waltz Band in 1847–48. There was a romantic flavor in the mutual devotion of the Germanians. They were young men, friends, who had been drawn together in a little social orchestra in Berlin. This was in 1848, the year of social revolution. By much playing together they had grown expert in the interpretation, or at least the expressive outlining, of the master compositions; they were at home in Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Gade, and even Liszt, Berlioz, and Wagner. They organized for an extended concert tour in America, — the land of freedom, their ideal! Their union had a communistic character, in a pure sense;

the individual merged his private interests in the whole; their motto was, "One for all, and all for one." They arrived in New York in September, 1848, and at once excited great enthusiasm by their fine and delicate performance, particularly of the fairy Shakespeare overture of Mendelssohn. After giving eighteen concerts there, and some in Philadelphia, they made their first appearance in Boston April 14, 1849, where they gave twenty-two concerts in the Melodeon in six weeks. The effect was magical. The *Midsummer Night's Dream Overture* had to be repeated thirty-nine times, such was the exquisite precision, delicacy, and poetic beauty of the rendering. Yet they only numbered twenty-three musicians; they had but pairs of violins, violas, basses, as of reeds and flutes, and but a single violoncello. They had excellent conductors, first in Carl Lenschow, afterward in Carl Bergmann. It was the fraternal spirit of their union, with their self-sacrificing zeal for art, each member feeling bound to merge himself in the *ensemble* of performance, — it was this "art religion," so to speak, that gave them an immense advantage over all the larger orchestras in every city where they let themselves be heard. In three winter seasons they performed here nearly all the great orchestral compositions. In one season they gave more than twenty concerts, besides filling the Music Hall, mostly with young ladies, by their public afternoon rehearsals. With the Handel and Haydn Society they gave to Boston its first two hearings of the *Ninth* (Choral) *Symphony* of Beethoven. Every concert offered a whole symphony, a classical overture, and frequently a concerto, and solos vocal and instrumental. Distinguished artists were employed; many piano-forte concertos were played by Alfred Jaell, Otto Dresel, Robert Heller, and Karl Müller; violin solos by Camilla Urso; and in the list of vocalists we find Adelaide Phillipps, Elise Hensler, Caroline Lehmann, Mme. Devries, Signora Tedesco, August Kreissmann, J. F. Rudolphsen, and others. In the eighty or ninety concerts which they gave here, the little orchestra was sometimes doubled by the addition of the best resident musicians. In the United States the Germania gave over seven hundred orchestral concerts, besides about one hundred concerts of chamber-music, — sonatas, trios, quartets, etc.

The disbanding of the Germania in 1854 (some of its members wishing to exchange their bachelor *Wanderjahre* for a more fixed domestic life) was seriously regretted by all lovers of good music. It had done good missionary work throughout the Union, spreading the gospel of pure, noble music. Nowhere more than in Boston did it find the soil (already loosened by the efforts of the Academy and Fund) receptive to the good seed of its sowing; nowhere did it produce a greater list of master compositions, or find them hailed with more enthusiasm. It came at the right moment, and has left a lasting influence. Its departure threw us once more on our own resources, only to find that we were all the stronger for the momentary perturbation which this bright little wanderer had caused in our own waning stellar group.

The Musical Fund Orchestra plucked up new courage and persevered through several seasons more of useful concerts, not resting until it had accumulated a library and a fund, which is still a source of benefit to families of members in distress.

Let us glance now at a kindred, though a smaller, field of choicest influence;—that of Chamber Concerts; of quartets, quintets, trios, etc., in classical sonata form, for the violin family of instruments. These appeal to select circles in small halls or parlors, and wherever established they become living springs of pure, sincere, refined, and thoughtful love of music. Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and their followers have bequeathed much of their most imaginative conception and consummate art in these forms; indeed, often anticipating their own riper periods in their earlier creations of this kind: the very freedom and seclusion, from all outward ends, of such pure music-making seems to have tempted them above themselves, beyond the limits of routine. Boston owes its foretastes of such art to the three short series of Chamber Concerts given by the Harvard Musical Association (of which hereafter) at Chickering's warerooms, between 1844 and 1850; though a few concerts in the same direction had been enjoyed at Cambridge two years earlier. The first series of eight was led by the violinist Herwig, much regretted in the second series of six. Mr. Lange was the excellent pianist; sometimes also the young William Mason and Mr. William Scharfenberg of New York. The last series of four concerts was given at Cochituate Hall, with Carl Hohnstock as leading violinist, and his sister Adele as the charming singer.

This appetite once awakened, there was soon call for a more permanent organization, devoted to this special field; and in the winter of 1849–50 the Mendelssohn Quintette Club, still alive and active, first came into notice. It sprang, like many other clubs, from social practice in a private house, and drew the enthusiastic nucleus of an audience with it. For a number of years it was composed of August Fries, first violin; Rziha, second; Lehmann and Thomas Ryan, violas; and Wulf Fries, 'cello. Theirs were the most classical of programmes,—quintets, quartets, octets, etc., for strings, varied by piano sonatas, trios, and the like; with such pianists as J. L. Hatton, Scharfenberg, Jaell, Dresel; and such singers as Miss Adele Hohnstock, Fanny Frazer, Anna Stone, August Kreissmann, and many others of the best available. No winter passed for many years without from six to ten such concerts at Cochituate Hall, at the Masonic Temple, at Chickering's tasteful little hall, at the Meionaon, and other convenient places. In nine years (to anticipate) this club went far toward exhausting the standard library of classical chamber-music.[1] All this between 1849 and 1858, and

[1] It gave: of Bach, one of the triple concertos, the *Violin Chaconne*, etc.; of Haydn, thirteen string quartets,—from two to eight times each; Mozart, seven quintets, ten quartets, two sextets, and several trios with piano,—most of them over and over; Beethoven, three quintets, sextet, ten quartets, six piano trios; two concertos, several sonata duos,—all repeatedly; Hummel, three piano trios, two concertos; Cherubini, *Quartet in E-flat*,—four times; Schubert, two quartets, two piano trios; Spohr, three quintets, and clarinet concerto; Onslow, eight quintets and a four-hand

all the best of it repeatedly! Admitting that it was mostly the exclusive privilege of the few, an audience seldom exceeding two hundred persons, and sometimes not half that number, yet was not the good influence sure to make itself felt in ever widening circles? And, indeed, through frequent excursions of the club the seeds found lodgement in various local soils throughout New England.

Meanwhile the vocal societies kept on their way. The Handel and Haydn, a slender stream where we left it in 1840, was widening and deepening; enlarging its chorus, — that poor average of fifty singers having perhaps quadrupled itself; enlarging its orchestra, — a natural consequence of all those Academy, Musical Fund, and Germania concerts, — in fact at one time employing the Germania, to the chagrin of "resident musicians;" availing itself of European vocalists of note; and learning many new works, now standard oratorios, now "sops to Cerberus" from operas with Bible subjects. To Handel's *Messiah* and *Dettingen Te Deum* it added, in 1845, *Samson*, which it has since given nearly forty times; in 1847, *Judas Maccabæus* (at least twenty times). Spohr's *Last Judgment* was sung in 1842, and eight times in two years. But an era in its history was the taking up of Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* in 1843 (it had first been sung in Trinity Church), followed by the *Elijah* in 1848. The former received ten representations, the latter forty-four, before 1879; it proving here, as in England, the most popular, after the *Messiah*, of all oratorios. Rossini's *Stabat Mater* was added to the list in 1843, and has been sung many times since then; and *Moses in Egypt*, adapted from the opera, in 1845. This figured forty-five times down to 1868. Donizetti's *Martyrs*, another adapted opera, was sung seven times in 1849 and 1850. The first conductor by election was the well known English singer and composer Charles E. Horn (1847–49). Mr. Charles C. Perkins (who now again for several years has been the president) assumed the bâton in 1850. Mr. J. E. Goodson, the English organist, was chosen conductor for one year in 1851. The organists through nearly all this period were the Messrs. Hayter, father and son. The principal solos were commonly entrusted to the best resident singers, some of whom won more than a local reputation, — notably Miss Anna Stone (now Mrs. Dr. Eliot, in New York), whose clarion soprano voice, and free, brilliant execution in "Let the bright Seraphim," as well as in *Moses in Egypt*, and the like, are still quoted with enthusiasm. There was also Mrs. Franklin and, among other young sopranos, the Misses Taylor, Frost, Doane, and Webb, and the contralto Miss Humphrey. The veteran artistic tenor James Sharpe still held out. Among the basses figured Mr. Thomas Ball the sculptor (notably in *Elijah*), and Mr. Aiken. Of foreign celebrities the

sonata; Mendelssohn, quintets in *A* and in *B-flat* (the latter the club's corner-stone), both a dozen times, seven string quartets, and three with piano, two piano trios, the *Octet*, four sonata duos, etc.; Schumann, two quartets, the piano quintet, *Romanzas* with clarinet; Rubinstein, three quartets; besides many works of Moscheles, Ries, Weber, Chopin, Gade, Kalliwoda, V. Lachner, Veit, F. David, Gouvy, Brahms, and several quartets and quintets composed by members and friends of the club.

first was the great English tenor Braham, in 1841, the richness, power, and volume of whose voice, though past its prime, and whose grand style, especially in musical declamation, made the liveliest impression. Then there was the English tenor Jones, in *Samson*, and Henry Phillipps (1844), and our own Eliza Biscaccianti, and Miss Frazer, and the clever J. L. Hatton, Signor Perelli, Signor Rosi, and many more. The oratorios were still given in the Melodeon; the chorus, in numbers, balance, discipline, effectiveness, was far below the present standard, yet its course was upward.

Other choral societies were still active, especially the Musical Education Society, which, under the direction of Mr. Webb, in the spring of 1849, gave probably the first performance in America of Handel's *Alexander's Feast*, with the aid of the Musical Fund Orchestra and of five young soprano singers, two of them, Miss Frost and Miss Doane, pupils of that sterling artist and sweet tenor singer August Kreissmann, who took part himself. The same society, in the two following years, was the first to give us Handel's *Jephthah* and the sublime *Israel in Egypt*. In January, 1848, Mr. A. U. Hayter announced the performance on successive Saturday evenings of those genial secular creations of Handel, *L'Allegro ed il Pensieroso*, *Acis and Galatea*, and *Alexander's Feast*, but was discouraged by the small attendance at the first.

The tendency of all these movements thus far had been mainly toward the German music. We have now to recognize a counter-current. In the spring of 1847 (the very year, as we have said, in which the symphonies of the Academy shrank into silence) the Italian Opera came with potent charm, and conquered. Then arose conflict of opinions and tastes, — endless discussion, often heated, often idle, of the rival merits of the Italian and the German music. Boston, before this time, had witnessed only some occasional slight skirmishes of wandering lyric troupes, — sporadic cases of the opera fever, but no epidemic; small companies of English singers sang translated German, French, and Italian operas, or thin and threadbare sketches of them, as well as works of English manufacture.

We pass them all and come to the advent of Signor Marti's Havana troupe of Italian singers, who made that little Howard Athenæum[1] a classical temple of the Muse for two successive seasons. They opened, April 23, 1847, with the first strong blast of Verdi's music, which was like a northwest wind after the tropical and languid melodies of Donizetti and Bellini. The piece was *Ernani;* the singers, Signorina Tedesco, Signors Perelli, Vita, and Novelli. Other leading artists of the company were Mme. Caranti-Vita, Mme. Rainieri, Signors Severi, F. Badiali (tenor), etc. Among the pieces given were Verdi's *I Lombardi*, Pacini's *Saffo*, Bellini's *Montecchi e Capuletti*, Rossini's *Mosé*, *etc.;* and, of more consequence than all, if

[1] In 1845, the world having failed to come to an end according to prediction, the "Millerite Tabernacle" was converted into Boston's operatic cradle, under the name of Howard Athenæum, which it still holds as a popular "Variety" theatre, so to speak.

not widely popular at once, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, with funny Sanquirico as Leporello. Undoubtedly Italian Opera was uppermost for the time being; and the enthusiasm about it was something for which youth may be envied. With many it was the first musical awakening. Sensibilities thus roused became alive to even nobler music in the course of time. Many might have lived and died insensible to Beethoven, had not gentle Bellini first seduced them from the prose and commonplace of life into the wonder-world of song.

In the following year the queenly Truffi, with the manly tenor Benedetti, the stentorian Beneventano, Rosi, Rossi-Corsi, and others, wrought an equal charm in Mercadante's *Il Giuramento*, in *Lucrezia Borgia*, and *Lucia;* and Mme. Biscaccianti joined them in *Sonnambula*, *Lucia*, and *Ernani*. In 1849 Mr. Fry of Philadelphia brought us the French singers M. and Mme. Laborde, M. Dubreuil, etc., giving *Lucia*, *L'Elisir d'Amore*, Verdi's *Nabucco* and *Lombardi*, etc. The summer of 1851 is memorable for the first appearance of Max Maretzek's troupe, — Truffi, Bettini, Marini, Beneventano, Lorini, and Mme. Parodi, who had been imported in the vain hope of eclipsing Jenny Lind. Their spirited performance of *La Favorita* created a *furore* out of all proportion to the intrinsic value of the music. Let us not forget, too, the rare combination in 1850 of that "bright particular star" (by many esteemed only next in glory to the Lind) Mme. Angiolina Bosio, with the noble tenors Salvi and Bettini, and the superb baritone and basso, Badiali and Marini.

So much for those visitations of the Siren. The record is but fragmentary and somewhat confused. For more exact details there is no room, — in fact, no need; for these wandering constellations did not favor Boston more than other cities, and constitute no portion of her musical *peculium*. Opera, not yet established here, can count but incidentally in the direct line of influences which have placed this city where it stands to-day in music, and it is with these influences mainly that this sketch is concerned.

THIRD PERIOD, 1852–66. — At the entrance to this third period stands the figure of the great singer and great artist Jenny Lind. The want of a hall large enough and fit for her to sing in led to the erection of the Boston Music Hall, which opened a new chance for great music in our city. In the same year (1852) was begun the publication of Boston's only long-lived musical periodical, *Dwight's Journal of Music*. Both of these sprang from the little society of musical graduates of Harvard College which called itself the Harvard Musical Association. The great Swedish singer's career in this country was in the years 1850–52. We need not recall the wonderful impression which her song produced, and the new interest and faith in music as an art divine which she inspired. Boston only shared this fine experience with other cities, although it is something pleasant to remember that her marriage to Otto Goldschmidt took place in a Boston family.

The Music Hall project had first been agitated in the council of the Musical Fund Society, at the earnest suggestion of Dr. J. Baxter Upham, whose name has always been identified with its whole history. Failing there, the idea was revived at the annual meeting of the Harvard Musical Association (Jan. 31, 1851), in the course of some informal conversation at the supper-table, resulting in the appointment of a committee (Messrs. C. C. Perkins, R. E. Apthorp, J. B. Upham, George Derby, and J. S. Dwight) to consider the subject practically. A subsequent committee determined the site and general plan of the proposed edifice, selected Mr. George Snell as architect, and canvassed for subscriptions to its stock, raising funds to the amount of $100,000 in sixty days. Among the largest subscribers stand the names of Perkins, Curtis, Upham, Chickering, and Apthorp. The Hon. C. P. Curtis was the first president of the board of seven directors, but soon resigned the place to Dr. Upham, who has held it ever since. The main hall is sixty feet in height, one hundred and twenty feet in length, and eighty feet in width, and comfortably seats two thousand seven hundred persons. It is grand in its proportions, chaste and noble in its style; and with the imposing front of its great organ, with Crawford's statue of Beethoven in rich Munich bronze, with the admirable bas-reliefs on the opposite wall, the gift of Charlotte Cushman, and with the beauty of its general aspect, it is a place where all suggestions to the eye are in æsthetic keeping with, and predisposing to, the full enjoyment of fine music. Experience from the first has proved it admirably good for sound, the only objection being that, unless the musical forces are upon a scale commensurate with so large a space, some of the finer effects are lost, or not sufficiently intense. The new hall was inaugurated on Saturday evening, Nov. 20, 1852, with a grand musical festival, before two thousand five hundred people, fitly opening with Mozart's *Zauberflöte Overture*, by the Fund Orchestra, who also played the overture to *Oberon*, and the andante to the *C-minor Symphony* of Beethoven. The Handel and Haydn Society sang the Hallelujah Chorus and "The Heavens are Telling;" the Musical Education Society contributed the lovely chorus "Happy and Blest," from *St. Paul;* the German Liederkranz, under Mr. Kreissmann, some beautiful part-songs. Mme. Alboni's large and luscious tones told upon every ear with roundness and distinctness in music of her countrymen; and the Germania Serenade Band played *A Greeting to the Fatherland.* On the next (Sunday) evening a sacred concert was given there by another of the world's great singers, Mme. Sontag, with the Handel and Haydn Society; and it was remarked that her softest pianissimo tones, her finest fioriture, were heard with perfect distinctness in the remotest corners of the hall beneath the balcony. From that time the new hall became the scene of countless musical performances, many of them of the noblest character, such as would otherwise have been denied to Boston. From that time she could offer a more tempting hospitality to famous artists from abroad. On Feb. 5, 1853, its walls resounded for the first time with the sublime *Choral Symphony* of Beethoven, given by the Germania,

with Handel and Haydn chorus. On March 1, 1856, there was a Beethoven Festival, for the inauguration of Crawford's noble statue, — the gift of our townsman Charles C. Perkins. There was an inspiring ode, written and recited by another townsman living for many years in Rome, — the sculptor William W. Story. The music consisted of the three instrumental movements of the *Ninth Symphony*, the great soprano scena and aria from *Fidelio*, sung by Mrs. J. H. Long; the "Quartet in Canon," from the same (Mrs. Wentworth, Mrs. Harwood, Mr. Low, and Mr. Wetherbee); the *Violin Concerto* (Mr. August Fries); the hallelujah chorus, from the *Mount of Olives;* and the choral fantasia, in *Praise of Harmony*, in which the donor of the statue himself played the piano-forte part. On New Year's Day, 1863, at noon, that hall was the scene of the memorable jubilee concert in honor of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, when Emerson first read his famous *Boston Hymn* for prologue; and the music consisted of the *Egmont Overture;* the solo and chorus from the *Hymn of Praise*, — "Watchman, will the Night soon Pass?" (Mr. Kreissmann) and the response, "The Night is Departing," in which the clear clarion tones of Miss Houston (Mrs. West) made a thrilling impression; Beethoven's *E-flat Concerto*, played by Otto Dresel; Dr. Holmes's *Army Hymn*, composed for solo and chorus by Dresel; the *Fifth Symphony;* the chorus "He, Watching over Israel," from *Elijah;* Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus*, and the overture to *William Tell*, — all music up to the true pitch and sense of the occasion.

There was still wanting, to complete the Music Hall, especially for oratorios, that "temple within temple," the Great Organ. For this, too, we are indebted to the indefatigable energy and zeal of Dr. Upham. It was years in process of construction, and then kept back by the dangers of transportation during the war. It was from the celebrated manufactory of Walcker & Son, at Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart. Its four manuals and pedal command eighty-nine registers and five thousand four hundred and seventy-four pipes, including three thirty-two foot stops. It was at that time by far the largest organ on this continent, and one of the three or four largest in the world. It was dedicated Nov. 2, 1863, when an ode by Mrs. James T. Fields was recited by Miss Charlotte Cushman, followed by some of the noblest organ works of Bach, Handel, Palestrina, Mendelssohn, and Lefebure Wely, played by Messrs. J. K. Paine, G. W. Morgan, B. J. Lang, S. P. Tuckerman, Eugene Thayer, and J. H. Wilcox. Fortunately the return, shortly before this time, of Mr. Paine from his studies in Germany, full of the music and traditions of Sebastian Bach, brought that greatest of all organ music into frequent hearing through the medium of this new gigantic instrument, and his efforts found emulous and able seconding in several of the organists just named. It must be confessed, with some shame now, that those organ concerts for a year or two gave far more of the highest class of organ compositions than we have had a chance to hear more recently.

Of the *Journal of Music*, above named, it is not for the present writer to say more than this, that it has had a longer career than any other journal of the kind in this country (from April, 1852, until September, 1881); that it has been recognized at home and abroad as generally faithful to the highest standard in art, and has the credit of having contributed something to the musical culture, taste, and character of Boston; its forty volumes contain a much completer record of the musical events and growth of Boston for the past thirty years than it is possible to condense into a chapter like this.

Here seems to be the place to speak of the Harvard Musical Association, which gave the first start and godspeed to the Music Hall and *Journal;* which, as we have seen, set the first public example of Chamber Concerts in this city; and the influence of which, although it is for the most part but a private, social union, has been felt in many ways, directly or indirectly, as a promoter of musical progress and refinement. It is a child of Harvard University, and was organized, in the autumn of 1837, among the alumni who had been members of the little college club called the Pierian Sodality, which used to make the music at the college exhibitions, besides serenading and playing together for mutual pleasure and improvement. Music at that period did not stand high in favor with the teachers or the parents of most students. To have a weakness for a flute or viol, or to sing aught but "sacred" music, was a thing "suspect" and leading to temptation. The idea that music is an art of intellectual and spiritual consequence, that it should be respected and placed upon an equal footing with the recognized "humanities" of a liberal education, would have been dismissed as one of the wildest and most dangerous of dreams. But not so thought the more earnest of the musical young men, and some of the older graduates who knew about it from their own experience. Several of these were present on one of those exhibition days, and partook of a sociable collation as the guests of the immediate members of the Sodality, some of them just then upon the point of graduation; and the idea occurred that it would be a pleasant and perhaps a useful thing to form a permanent society of old and young Pierians. There would be at least the pleasure of from time to time reviving the musical memories of college life; while a league, in the name and interest of music, of so many college-educated men, would in itself tend to raise the art in general respect, particularly among the authorities of the College. The immediate end was social and sentimental, but it was foreseen that in these reunions opportunities and motives would arise for helping the cause of music in more ways than one. For one thing, a united force of opinion would be brought to bear in favor of some practical recognition of music as a branch of college education, and the way prepared for the establishment of a musical professorship, — all which has come about. Lectures were given upon music, mostly in its æsthetic aspects, by several members, in the college chapel during the Commencement week, for half-a-dozen years; and on the com-

pletion of the year 1850 an elaborate and interesting address was delivered before the association, at Cochituate Hall, by Mr. Samuel Jennison, Jr., on the "Music of the past Half-century." Social glee-clubs were formed, with instrumental music for variety. A musical library was begun, which has now grown to several thousand volumes, including the complete works of many of the masters, besides a large representation of the musical literature, both books and periodicals, in English, German, French, Italian, etc., and a large collection of vocal and orchestral "parts." It is probably one of the three or four fullest and most valuable musical libraries in America; and its example has led to liberal provision for the musical department in the Boston Public Library, the library at Harvard, and some others.[1] The respect for music among educated men has unconsciously obeyed the concentration of still magnetic force in this association. Before entering the field of public concert-giving, it has helped to raise the tone of musical activity around us, and has lent encouragement, if not the first vital impulse, to not a few good works and movements in furtherance of the art which is its bond of union. Even when it has found nothing visible to put its hand to, it has not been without its silent influence. Its most important public work belongs to the period after the War of the Rebellion, when it began those annual series of Symphony Concerts which have continued to this day. Of these hereafter. It now numbers about one hundred and forty members, including some of the most honored alumni of Harvard and other universities, besides many of the most refined and gifted of the musical profession.

Foremost and most constant among the societies which availed themselves of the new Music Hall was the Handel and Haydn Society, whose progress we have briefly sketched thus far. In such a hall for oratorio upon a grander scale, with conveniences for rehearsal in the Bumstead Hall beneath, it soon took a new start. The chorus gradually increased in numbers, although it was some years yet before it averaged two hundred in performance. In 1858–59 from three hundred to three hundred and twenty-five singers were reported in the seats, including, however, many who had not attended rehearsals. What first raised the standard in numbers and efficiency was the first bold venture of a three-days' Musical Festival, after the model of those at Birmingham and other towns in England. This was in May, 1857. For this the chorus was increased to over five hundred voices, with an orchestra of seventy-eight. Out of the recruits for this and later festivals many of course became interested in the work and spirit of the society, and from year to year were added to its list of members. That Festival, though not remunerative, gave new life and energy and larger purpose to the old society. There was an opening address by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, from which we have already quoted. Three oratorios — the three most popular, the *Creation*, *Elijah*, and the *Messiah* — were given, Carl Zerrahn conducting. The principal singers were: *soprano*, Mrs. Eliot

[1] [See the chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — Ed.]

(Anna Stone) of New York, Mrs. J. H. Long, Mrs. Mozart and Mrs. Hill; *alto*, Miss Adelaide Phillipps and Miss J. Twichell; *tenor*, Mr. Simpson of New York and Mr. C. R. Adams; *bass*, Mr. Leach and Dr. Guilmette. There were, besides, three miscellaneous orchestral and vocal concerts, with programmes of high character, including symphonies, etc., never before heard in Boston with so large and fine an orchestra. This was during the presidency of Mr. C. F. Chickering, with Mr. L. B. Barnes for the efficient adjutant and secretary. Another Festival was given, on a yet larger scale, on the fiftieth anniversary of the society, in May, 1865. It lasted a whole week, and there were nearly seven hundred singers in the chorus, and one hundred and twelve musicians in the orchestra. The choral works were: Nicolai's *Festival Overture*, with chorus, on Luther's Chorale, "Ein' feste Burg;" Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* (first time); the *Creation; Israel in Egypt;* and *Elijah*. The afternoon concerts presented Beethoven's *Eroica* and *Seventh Symphony;* the great *Symphony in C* by Schubert; the *Scotch* by Mendelssohn; the overtures to *Leonore*, *Coriolan*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Bennett's *Naiads*, Rossini's *William Tell*, etc.; and Liszt's "symphonic poem," *Les Preludes;* with vocal selections by the various solo singers in the oratorios, — Miss Houston, Mrs. Van Zandt, Miss Brainerd, Mme. Frederici Himmer, Mrs. Kempton, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Cary, Herren Himmer, Hermanns, and others. The society had proved the feasibility of musical festivals in this country; but festivals did not become a periodical feature in its plan until our fourth and last period.

In 1861 Dr. J. B. Upham became president of the Handel and Haydn, inspiring it with the same sort of zeal and energy with which he had carried through the project of the Music Hall and Organ, and the Public School Festivals (which came to a too early end). He held the office for ten years, during all which period his efforts were ably seconded by the same secretary, Mr. Barnes, who became his successor. In 1852 Mr. Carl Bergmann, of the Germania, had succeeded Mr. Webb as conductor; and in 1854 Mr. Carl Zerrahn (of the same society) assumed the bâton, which he has since wielded with so much discretion, power, and honor to this day.

The principal additions to the repertoire in these years were: Handel's *Solomon*, *Israel in Egypt*, and *St. Cecilia's Day* (for the choral inauguration of the Great Organ); Costa's *Eli;* Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*, and Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*. A patriotic concert was given in April, 1861, in aid of the Government, at the outbreak of the Rebellion; and another on March 1, 1862, when the *Dettingen Te Deum* and the *Hymn of Praise* were sung in joy and gratitude for Union victories.

The Musical Education Society gave Christmas performances of the *Messiah* in 1852 and 1853; also selections from Handel's *Joshua* and *Jephthah*, and from Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* in the spring of the latter year. In October, 1853, was formed the Mendelssohn Choral Society, under the presidency of that vigorous organizer in choral as in military matters, the late General B. F. Edmands. It gave the *Messiah* on the following Christ-

mas, with Bergmann for conductor, the Germania Orchestra, and Miss Stone, Mrs. Wentworth, Miss Humphrey, Mr. S. B. Ball, and Mr. F. Meyer for the solo singers. In November, 1854, it gave the *Widow of Nain* by Lindpaintner; and during the remainder of its existence (through 1857) several more performances of the *Messiah*, and several good programmes of selections.

The orchestral concerts during this whole period were tentative and wavering, changing form and method of attack repeatedly, although they never altogether ceased. Those of the Musical Fund were continued until 1855. In November, 1854, a small occasional orchestra was made up by some of the musicians ("the cream of the Musical Fund," several of the disbanded Germania, and the Mendelssohn Quintette Club), which gave cheap afternoon concerts, combining symphony and lighter things in fair proportions. These concerts, easily given, inexpensive, very moderately remunerative to the musicians, were kept alive through periods when all else failed. Indeed, a series of them was given every year down to the spring of 1868. In 1855 a course of six subscription concerts was arranged by a committee of gentlemen, — Messrs. Perkins, Upham, Edward Grattan (British Consul), Dwight, and C. F. Chickering, — with Carl Zerrahn conducting fifty-four musicians. The programmes were as choice as the taste and means at the disposal of the committee could make them. In 1856 M. Jullien, with his famous travelling orchestra, gave brilliant and sensational performances in the Boston Music Hall, exciting wonder and applause. We have already mentioned the Beethoven Statue Festival of that year. An earnest attempt was made to establish a Beethoven Concert Society with a very large orchestra, but it failed for lack of the one thousand five hundred subscribers it required. The problem of a complete and permanent orchestra for Boston was agitated even then; but its day had not arrived. In 1857 Mr. Zerrahn began his annual seasons of Philharmonic Concerts, keeping alive the interest in classical symphony-music, relieved by lighter or more brilliant works, and introducing not a little that was new. To him we were indebted for our best privileges in this kind, almost steadily until the spring of 1863. Then the nation was in the middle of the great war, and subscriptions naturally fell off. Shining bait for the more general public was held up in programmes, but with only this result, that the stanch supporters of the classical — the sole sure nucleus of any audience for the highest kind of music — lost their confidence; and the supply ceased altogether, with the exception of the little Orchestral Union afternoon concerts, or "rehearsals," and the occasional nice entertainments to which friends were invited by a little amateur orchestra, the Mozart Club, during 1860–64 and later. This club had been long in existence under other names, keeping wholly in the shade, — possibly the same Alpheus-Arethusa stream of the old Graupner "Philo-harmonic" finding its way underground to reappear in a new form at this time. None of these acorns grew to a great oak. There was renewed call for the "Grand Boston Or-

chestra" which should make summer of "the winter of our discontent." Conductor Zerrahn was inexhaustible in conjuring up new schemes and programmes; but the time was not yet: we must wait until the war is over! Then perhaps — ?

Meanwhile in smaller circles much was done for music. Choice spirits were the centres of such circles. That year of promise with which this period opened, with a rainbow on the cloud from the departing Swedish singer, — the year 1852, which gave us the Music Hall, and in which appeared an organ for the frank and honest utterance and interchange of opinion, for the expression of the best earnest thought and aspiration of the true friends of music, — was also happy in the abiding presence here of several artist teachers of the true stamp. One particularly, a German who had been under the immediate influence of Mendelssohn and Schumann; one of the finest instances of Leipsic culture, embodying the best traditions of that school; at home in Bach and Beethoven, in Schumann and Chopin; an eminently poetic, genial interpreter of their piano-forte compositions, — Otto Dresel, took up his abode here in the autumn of that year. By taste and temperament he shrank from publicity. He preferred to work in private and congenial circles, where alike by his performance and by his remarkable critical intelligence, seconded by rare powers of conversation, he soon began to exercise an influence which can hardly be overrated. He became unprofessedly, by silent and unconscious magnetism, a teacher of teachers. All the best younger artists drew inspiration from his thought and his example. He entered with self-sacrificing earnestness, and with a vividness of insight, an intensity of will and work, into every musical movement here which he could see was really for good. In his own little concerts and recitals, which were frequent nearly every season through this period and later, he set the model of pure, interesting programmes, often calling in the aid of brother artists — violinists, 'cellists, the Quintette Club, etc. — to bring out trios and quartets; or other pianists, as once Jaell and Scharfenberg in the production for the first time here of the *Triple Concertos* of Sebastian Bach. Probably no other person has ever introduced among us so large and choice a repertoire of the finest works of the master composers from Bach to Chopin, and even later. He often contributed a fine rendering of a Beethoven or a Mendelssohn concerto in the orchestral concerts. He formed private vocal clubs, which met in houses, and under his severe, inspiring discipline, studied cantatas, choruses, etc. of Bach, Gluck, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Schumann, Robert Franz, and others quite unknown in America before; and these gave quickening suggestion to other singing-clubs which have sprung up from time to time. But one of his greatest services, a work peculiarly his own, was his introduction of the poetic songs of Robert Franz, of whom he has been the confidential friend and fellow-laborer, in the secret of the first conception and elaboration of these songs from the beginning, as well as of the admirable work which Franz has done in the completion of the Bach and Handel

scores. Nowhere, even in Germany, have the songs of Franz become so widely known, so keenly appreciated, and so much in vogue in parlor and in concert room, as here, through Mr. Dresel's influence, in Boston. Very many, perhaps one half of these two or three hundred songs, have been republished here with English and German words. If this seems like *post obit* eulogy, it may be excused on the ground that the subject of it has for some years past, it may be feared for an indefinite period, withdrawn himself from Boston, and is now living and teaching in Leipsic, as well as working and studying with his old friend Franz, now totally deaf, in Handel's birthplace, Halle; also on the ground that the object of this paper is to trace the influences which have brought Boston where it stands to-day in music, and that such an influence as we have just described, so quickening and far-reaching although individual, cannot be ignored.

Fortunate was it for us also that we had, already settled here for several years, one of the best interpreters of the Franz songs in the musician-like, expressive, genial singer, August Kreissmann, whose long painful illness and recent death in Germany has been so seriously deplored. He was a master also in the songs and arias of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Schumann; the leader for many years of the Orpheus singing-club of Germans, and the teacher of some of our best public singers during the time of which we speak.

There was another gentle, modest artist at the same time, strong in artistic faith and character, — the young pianist Joseph Trenkle, whose example was all in the right direction, but whose health compelled him after a few years to emigrate to San Francisco, where he was held in great esteem, and died Nov. 19, 1878. A little later, in 1856, came another young pianist, also from the Leipsic school, — Hugo Leonhard, who has done much here to inspire an interest in the works of Beethoven and the other great ones, but especially of Schumann; but, alas! as it was with Schumann, so it was finally with this enthusiastic follower; his reason was beclouded, and his too short career was closed in the autumn of 1879. In 1858 came, from New York, Julius Eichberg, an artistic violinist and a thorough musician of the Belgian School, who has been identified in many useful ways in the whole musical progress here from that time to this. Of his work, more hereafter.

These all came from Germany. In 1854 two of our own Boston aspirants brought home fruits of study from the Conservatorium of Leipsic. Mr. J. C. D. Parker was the first son of Harvard to forsake a dry profession (the Law) and follow the ruling passion of his life, devoting it professionally to the "higher law" of music. He at once became quietly but steadily active as pianist, organist, composer, teacher, and director of a vocal club. His taste and influence have been wholly classical and most uncompromising. He has given trio concerts, played in the best symphony and chamber courses, and has been and is a valued though a quiet member in the councils of the most important movements. His vocal club (the Parker

Club) of amateurs, mixed voices, formed in 1862, for many years gave interesting concerts to invited audiences in the old Chickering Hall, and was the means of introducing numerous important works (though only with piano-forte accompaniment), among others the *Comala* of Gade, the *Walpurgis Night* of Mendelssohn, the *Flight into Egypt* of Berlioz, Schumann's *Paradise and the Peri* and *Pilgrimage of the Rose*, etc., besides many choice part-songs, some of the favorites being of Mr. Parker's own composition. The other young Bostonian who came back that year was the pianist William Mason (son of Dr. Lowell Mason), who after a few seasons settled in New York, where he ranks among the foremost teachers and pianists. Another young pianist and organist, who had removed here from Salem shortly before this, Mr. B. J. Lang, was beginning to make his mark in concert rooms, and giving promise of the prominent position he has since attained. In 1861 the young organist John K. Paine, now the honored Musical Professor at Harvard, returned from his severe and patient studies in Berlin, equipped at all points in the armor of complete musicianship, as he has since proved by his numerous compositions in the least and largest forms. At that time he was our chief exponent, practically, of the great organ music of Bach, and of Thiele, Ritter, and the other more important recent German writers for the organ, not neglecting Mendelssohn. Of native singers it is enough to name Miss Adelaide Phillipps and Mr. Charles R. Adams, both of whom have had careers abroad, the latter having held the position of principal tenor in the Imperial Opera at Vienna for nine years.

All these have been more or less important factors in the movement which has tended to make Boston musical. Among the transient stars that shed light upon us in this period were the pianists Alfred Jaell (1851–54), Scharfenberg of New York, Gottschalk (1853), Robert Heller (1854), Satter (1855 and later), and Thalberg (1857); the organist G. W. Morgan of New York (1856); the violinists, Ole Bull (second visit, 1853), the young Paul Julien and Camilla Urso (about 1852); and of singers, Mme. Alboni and Mme. Sontag (1852), Mme. Lagrange (1855), Mme. Johannsen (1857), and Carl Formes (1858). More names will occur in connection with the opera.

Chamber-concerts, in various forms, kept up a certain interest through all this period; those given by the pianists being sometimes of the highest interest. The Mendelssohn Quintette Club persevered in its good work, adding, among other things, to the rich repertoire already summarized several of the latest (*posthumous*) quartets of Beethoven. Its season of 1864–65, however, its sixteenth venture, was doubtfully and tardily determined on. In 1856 and 1857 the German Trio (Messrs. Gärtner, Hause, and Jungnickel) gave programmes, mostly classical, for piano, violin, and 'cello. In 1857 Thalberg was delighting refined audiences at Chickering's. In 1859 Messrs. Eichberg and Leonhard gave choice concerts of violin and piano music at the Meionaon; and in 1861 the same artists associated with them

the singer Mr. Kreissmann. Mr. Dresel's masterly and subtile illustrations of the true piano-forte poets were a continual attraction. In the season of 1864–65 he gave two series, one of five and one of eight concerts, playing the two triple concertos of Bach with his confrères Parker, Lang, and Leonhard, Mr. Kreissmann contributing fresh flowers of song by Schubert, Schumann, Franz, and others.

Flying visits of the opera, Italian and even German, were seldom long to wait for. Even the war created here, as war has elsewhere done in other anxious, gloomy crises, a thirst for this intoxicating innocent diversion in "the times that tried men's souls." We were never for a whole year without the opera in some shape. In the spring of 1853 we had both the Alboni and the Sontag party at the Howard Athenæum. The "year of promise" brought these also. In September, 1854, the large and sumptuous new Boston Theatre, one of the noblest in the world, was opened, — a second waif from the same tidal wave of musical enthusiasm which gave us the great Music Hall two years before. Then came Louisa Pyne, with Harrison, the younger Reeves, and others, bringing operas in English, — *Crown Diamonds*, *Fra Diavolo*, the old *Beggar's Opera*, etc. The early weeks of 1855 are memorable for the eagerly thronged performances of that famous lyric couple, Grisi and Mario, with Badiali and Susini; who, besides the usual run of well worn Italian pieces, gave us *Don Giovanni* (with our own Lorini-Whiting for Zerlina), and such a *con amore*, thoroughly delightful rendering of the immortal *Barber*, before a mere handful of an afternoon audience, as one may hardly hope to see and hear again. In May of that year came Maretzek, with Mme. Steffanone, Mme. Bertucca-Maretzek, Mlle. Vestvali, and Signors Badiali, Brignoli, etc., bringing us Rossini's *Tell* for once, — also the first inoculation of the *Rigoletto-Trovatore-Traviata* epidemic. In June, Mme. Lagrange appeared in *Norma;* and again in January, 1856, with Nantier-Didiée, Elise Hensler, Salviani, Morelli, etc., she brought out *Don Giovanni*, *Semiramide*, and, for the first time, Meyerbeer's *Prophète*. The same parties came once or twice more that year. From this point troupes and singers multiply so fast as to crowd each other out of the brief hasty record. The most important works first introduced here by one or the other of these parties were the *Huguenots*, *Marriage of Figaro*, *Magic Flute*, *Der Freyschütz*, *Martha*, and Gounod's *Faust*.

More significant, more suggestive of a future, because tending in the same direction with all our elevating experiences of great choral and orchestral music, was our beginning of acquaintance with the one opera of Beethoven, *Fidelio*. Rude and inadequate as was its first presentation (April, 1857) through the artistic but impatient zeal of Carl Bergmann, who had little to rely upon for its success besides the nobly dramatic, thrilling impersonation of the heroic wife by Mme. Johannsen, yet it was an event in the musical life of Boston. The intrinsic depth and beauty of the music made itself felt by those, at least, who meet the intention of a composer half-way when it is only half brought out; and when it came again in

May and in October, 1864, in the German Opera seasons of Anschütz and of Grover, each with a company much more complete, although composed essentially of the same singers (Johannsen, Frederici, Canissa, Himmer, Habelmann, Hermanns, Formes, etc.), it got a lasting hold upon the sympathies of all true music lovers. These companies, besides *Fidelio*, gave *Don Juan*, *Zauberflöte*, *Freyschütz*, *The Huguenots*, *Robert le Diable*, *Die Weisse Dame*, *Faust*, *Die Jüdinn*, Nicolai's *Lustige Weiber*, Flotow's *Stradella*, and parts of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and Gounod's *Mireille*. But the promise ended there, the happy combination was soon scattered to the winds. Even so it has been with all experiences of opera, exotic charmer, here and in all this country, with the exception of the French Opera in New Orleans. Nowhere has it taken root and grown into a self-supporting institution; and therefore even the few words here spent upon it might have been spared in view of the little it has contributed to real progress here in musical taste and culture, to say nothing of original production. Yet it has not been without its influence, as we have said before. It has introduced a great variety of more or less beautiful and genial arias, scenas, and concerted vocal pieces into the common currency of concert room and parlor, and made glad the (re)publishers. It has given us shining models of good singing, and sharpened the critical perception of the listeners. It has kept alive a certain musical enthusiasm at times when most ears and souls were dull to any other music; and it has kept from dying out the dream, the hope of a "good time coming," when we shall have opera, *true* opera, as an established national and local institution, even should it have to be indigenous and native to the soil. Then it will mean something here, and will fulfil its meaning, building up its rightful, glorious side of the complete living temple of an undying art-religion here and in other centres of this great Republic.

Fourth Period, 1865–81. — The war is over! There is now time to think again of music. And the first problem which presents itself is that of the Orchestra. Are we to have any symphonies? The little Orchestral Union was all that we had left, and that did not furnish what the old Academy, the Fund, the Germania, and Mr. Zerrahn's Philharmonics had accustomed us to look to as the best part of our musical birthright. A new hope dawned, and in a quarter not professional. At one of the annual dinners of the Harvard Musical Association (January, 1865) the matter was discussed, and it was agreed to give six symphony concerts in the winter of 1866–67, to be entirely under the control of a committee of its members, who should select the conductor and the orchestra, procure a guarantee subscription, and arrange the programmes. The orchestral means of Boston, to be sure, were limited. To make the most of such means as there were, and to employ them in the gratification and improvement of the taste for what is best, — the master-works in symphony, concerto, overture, etc, — this was the design and only motive; this would delight and educate

good music lovers, and at the same time give our drudging, multifariously preoccupied musicians some chance and encouragement to work together now and then as artists in the nobler spirit of their art. The first step in the working-plan was to bespeak for them the best kind of audience, its nucleus to be members of the Association and their friends, who were supposed to have social influence enough, besides the musical attraction, to insure a well-filled hall. The strength of the enterprise lay in these guarantees: 1. Disinterestedness: it was not a money-making speculation; it had no motive but good music and the hope of doing a good thing for art in Boston; — in that, it took up the tradition of the old Academy. 2. The guarantee of the nucleus of fit audience, — persons of taste and culture, subscribing beforehand to make the concerts financially safe, and likely to increase the number by the attraction of their own example. 3. Pure programmes, above all need of catering to low tastes; here should be at least one set of concerts in which we might hear only composers of unquestioned excellence, and into which should enter nothing vulgar, coarse, "sensational," but only such as outlives fashion. 4. The guarantee to the musicians both of a better kind of work and somewhat better pay than they were wont to find. It was hoped that the experiment would "pave the way to a permanent organization of orchestral concerts, whose periodical recurrence and high, uncompromising character might be always counted on in Boston." It was in fact a plan whereby the real lovers of good music should take the initiative in such concerts and control them, keeping the programmes up to a higher standard than they are likely to conform to in the hands of those who give concerts only to make money.

There was an orchestra of fifty musicians, and Mr. Carl Zerrahn was appointed to the conductorship, which he has honorably held to this day. The first season was a marked success; a new interest was awakened, — so much so that the number of concerts was increased to eight the second year, and afterward to ten. For six or eight years the audience steadily increased, — more than one season yielding a surplus of several thousand dollars. This was set aside, partly for the purchase of music, but mainly as a concert fund, which has made good all losses since the public patronage began to fall off; so that in fact for sixteen years these concerts have been self-supporting, and will still go on. In ten seasons (1865–75) the Association had given just one hundred concerts, including several benefits.[1] In the tenth

[1] These hundred programmes contained: —

SYMPHONIES. — All the nine of Beethoven, repeatedly; twelve by Haydn; six by Mozart; the *Weihe der Töne*, by Spohr; Schubert's, *in C* (six times), and the *Unfinished;* Mendelssohn's *Scotch*, *Italian*, and *Reformation;* the four of Schumann, three or four times round, besides the *Overture*, *Scherzo*, and *Finale;* Gade, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. Nearly all of these repeatedly, and many of them for the first time in Boston.

OVERTURES. — Gluck: *Iphigenia*. Mozart: *Idomeneo*, *Figaro*, *Zauberflöte*, *Tito*. Beethoven: *Prometheus*, *Coriolan*, *Egmont*, *Leonore* (Nos. 1, 2, and 3), *Fidelio*, *Namensfeier*, and *Weihe des Hauses*. Cherubini: *Anacreon*, *Wasserträger*, *Les Abencerrages*, *Medea*, *Faniska*, *Ludoska*. Spohr: *Jessonda*, *Faust*. Schubert: *Fierabras*, *Alfonso and Estrella*. Weber: *Ruler of the Spirits*, *Precios*, *Freyschütz*, *Oberon*, *Euryanthe*, *Jubilee*. Spontini: *La Vestale*. Rossini: *Tell*. Mendelssohn: *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Hebrides*,

season (1874) an effort was made to increase the interest of the concerts by incorporating a new feature, — a large chorus of mixed voices (which was called the Cecilia, with Mr. Lang for its conductor), to relieve the instrumental uniformity by the occasional performance of cantatas, and other larger and smaller works for solo voices, orchestra, and chorus. This lasted for two seasons, during which were sung (with more satisfaction to the hearers than the singers, who could not feel themselves at home, surrounded as they were, and "covered up" by the strange "overpowering" element, the orchestra) Mendelssohn's *Walpurgis Night* (twice), *Lorelei* fragments, motet, *Laudate Pueri*, for female voices; Schumann's *Paradise and the Peri;* the *Magnificat* by Durante; finale to the first act of Weber's *Euryanthe;* Gade's *Spring's Greeting* and *Comala;* Schubert's *Twenty-third Psalm*, for female voices; three-part canons by Hauptmann; Bach's great

Melusina, *Ruy Blas*, *Meeresstille*, etc., *Athalie*, *Trumpet Overture*. Schumann: *Genoveva*, *Manfred*. Gade: *Ossian*, *Im Hochland*, *Concert Overture*, *opus* 14. Sterndale Bennett: *Naiads*, *Wood Nymph*, *Paradise and Peri*. Taubert: *Tausend und eine Nacht*. Rietz: *Concert Overture*. Wagner: *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*. Reinecke: *Dame Kobold*. Bargiel: *Medea*. Goldmark: *Sakuntala*. Dudley Buck: *Don Munio*. Most of these repeatedly, and at least half of them for the first time here.

Miscellaneous for Orchestra. — J. S. Bach: *Suite in D; Organ Toccata in F*, and *Passacaglia*, arranged by Esser. Handel: *Pastoral Symphony*. Gluck: Chaconne, from *Orfeo*. Beethoven: Adagio and Andante, from *Prometheus; Turkish March;* March from *Fidelio*. Cherubini: Introduction to fourth act of *Medea*. Mendelssohn: Priest's March from *Athalie*. Schumann: Entr'acte and Incantation from *Manfred*. F. Lachner: *First Orchestral Suite*, *D-minor*. Liszt: *Les Preludes*, *Tasso*. Raff: *Suite in C*.

Concertos. — Handel: *For Oboe*, *G-minor*. Mozart: *For two Pianos* (Lang and Parker); No. 20, *in D* (H. Daum); No. 8, *D-minor* (Miss Mehlig, Richard Hoffman); *in C-minor* (Leonhard); *in B-flat* (J. C. D. Parker); *Sinfonie Concertante for Violin and Viola* (C. N. Allen and H. Heindl); *Violin in D* (Camilla Urso). Beethoven: *Violin* (Carl Rosa, Mme. Urso, B. Listemann); *For Piano;* No. 1 *in C* (B. J. Lang); No. 2, *B-flat* (B. J. Lang); No. 3, *C-minor* (Lang, Alice Dutton, Parker); No. 4, *in G* (H. Leonhard, five times); No. 5, *E-flat* (Dresel, Perabo, Miss Mehlig, Miss Krebs, Mme. Schiller); *Triple Concerto* (Lang, Perabo); *Choral Fantasia* (Perabo). Hummel: *Piano*, *A-minor* (Parker); *Septet* (Perabo). Schubert-Liszt: *Fantasia*, *opus* 15 (Lang). Weber: *Concertstuck* (Miss Dutton, Miss Mehlig); *For Clarinet A-flat* (G. Weber). Moscheles: *G-minor* (Parker). Mendelssohn; *Piano in G-minor* (Lang, Parker); *D-minor* (Dresel, Parker, Mehlig); *Serenade and Allegro-Giojoso* (Parker, Leonhard); *Rondo*, *opus* 29 (Perabo); *Capriccio* (Miss Finkenstädt); *Violin* (Rosa, Urso, Miss Teresa Liebe). Schumann: *A-minor* (Dresel, Leonhard, Marie Krebs); *Concertstück* (Lang, twice). Chopin: *E-minor* (Leonhard, Miss Alide Topp, Miss Mehlig, Mme. Schiller); *F-minor* (Mehlig, Leonhard, G. W. Sumner); *Andante Spianato* and *Polonaise* (Leonhard); *Krakowiak* (Leonhard, twice). Henselt: *F-minor* (C. Petersilea). Norbert Burgmüller: *Piano* (Perabo). Bennett: No. 4, *F-minor* (Perabo); *Capriccio in E* (Lang). Rietz: *For Oboe*, *F-minor* (A. Kutzleb). Lipinski: *Military*, Violin (B. Listemann). Vieuxtemps: *Ballade and Polonaise*, Violin (Urso). F. David: *Andante* and *Scherzo* (Miss Liebe). Joachim: *Hungarian Concerto*, first movement (Listemann). Rubinstein: *Piano*, No. 3, *in G* (Lang). Goltermann: *For 'cello*, *A-minor* (A. Hartdegen). Gernsheim: *C-minor* (Perabo). Svendsen: *Violin in A* (August Fries).

Singers like Mme. Rudersdorff, Miss Clara Doria (Mrs. H. M. Rogers), Mme. Johannsen, Mrs. Houston-West, the lamented Miss A. S. Whitten, Miss Whinnery, Mrs. Flora E. Barry, Miss Alice Fairman, Mrs. Kempton, Miss Ryan, Messrs. Kreissmann, George L. Osgood, Nelson Varley, C. Gloggner-Castelli, M. W. Whitney, P. H. Powers, and F. Rudolphsen furnished a rare collection, mostly new to our concert-rooms, of arias from Bach's cantatas, *Christmas Oratorio* and *Passion;* many from Handel's Italian operas, his *L'Allegro*, etc.; many of Mozart's concert arias, as well as from his operas; and songs by Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Robert Franz, etc., with unsurpassed piano-forte accompanists. In the earlier seasons there were sometimes choruses for male voices from Mendelssohn's *Antigone* and *Œdipus*, from the *Magic Flute*, the *Ruins of Athens*, etc.

cantata, *Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniss;* besides some madrigals and part-songs. After this the Cecilia withdrew, and became a concert-giving society upon its own account.

From the year 1872, and onward, the Harvard Concerts began to lose somewhat of their prestige; and very naturally, since until then they had occupied the field alone. This advantage could not last forever. Their success invited competition both in their own and other fields, and in other kinds of musical attraction. Their triumphant tide was checked in several ways; as (1) By the necessity of afternoon instead of evening concerts, owing to the engagements of musicians in the theatres; (2) Jealousy caused by the privilege of the "nucleus," or guarantee subscribers, in the choice of seats; (3) A diversion of the tide of sympathy for a time toward the new vocal clubs (Apollo, etc.), in which so many young men could take active part themselves, while their invited or "associate member" friends preferred to hear glees and part-songs rehearsed to the utmost *finesse* of expression, to the greatest symphonies by a half disciplined, imperfect orchestra; and (4) An orchestra too small and of inadequate intensity of tone for the great spaces of the Music Hall. But more than all, there had already come repeated visitations of a better orchestra, one trained to sensitive and absolute obedience to a masterly and most energetic leader, Theodore Thomas; an orchestra whose performance, in unity, precision, all the technical refinements, light and shade, and unmistakable expression, contrasted greatly to the disadvantage of our local band, made up as it had to be of musicians who worked in the theatre, street, and ball room, or perhaps in teaching, for their daily bread, and who could only give a few jaded hours now and then for the rehearsal of programmes full of difficulty. If the brilliant example turned attention somewhat from the programme to the nicety of execution, making the manner more regarded than the matter, yet there was no denying that it was just the example which Boston needed. It was Germania *versus* Musical Fund again, upon a larger scale. It was a needed lesson. Here was the kind of orchestra for which Boston concert-goers had so often sighed. Here was an orchestra always, the whole year round an orchestra, with this for the one business of its members' lives. Such had we longed for, but almost without hope, for our own. Never was the want so keenly felt; for Boston, to become in truth a musical city, must be self-dependent in this great matter of orchestral music, and not have to take its symphonies as it takes its operas, by the chance favor, not always timely, of travelling impresarios and artists.

The Thomas Concerts have contributed to musical development in Boston. They have sharpened musical perception. They have created a new audience and a new interest for orchestral music in hundreds dead to it before. They have greatly raised the standard of excellence in execution. They have made the public demand more, and our own conductors and musicians try more. The effect is seen in the improvement, year by year, of our home orchestra. Moreover, the Thomas Concerts have to a great

extent chosen a field so distinctive in respect to programmes as almost to render competition idle. While they have not slighted tastes conservative and classical, they have ministered largely to the curiosity to know more about the famous new composers, introducing many strange and brilliant novelties of the most modern school. We may or may not come home again with a new relish to our old favorites; it is well to have the opportunity of choice, to see and judge each for himself, — "try all things, and hold fast to that which is good."

The Harvard Musical Association has, as we have seen, chosen for itself the conservative ground in its concerts. Whatever else of good or evil may come up, there can be no doubt that somebody should hold that ground. We have only here to complete the record of its work. With all the new quickening influences, and under all discouragements of fluctuating and inadequate support, it has continued to seek the approbation of the few, if it could not attract the many. Not only has it kept the immortal master-works within thought and hearing, but also in the concerts of the last six years, since conservatism can so well afford to be generous, it has presented what it conceived to be a judicious, on the whole a large, allowance of the modern works.[1]

[1] In the list of symphonies have figured two by Raff, the two by Brahms, the *Ocean* by Rubinstein, the *Symphonie Fantastique* by Berlioz, the *Second, in A-minor*, by Saint-Saëns, the *Posthumous Symphony in F* by Goetz; also the two by our own Harvard professor, J. K. Paine, and the *Second* (*Sardanapalus*) *Symphony* by Dr. F. L. Ritter, the learned and genial musical professor at Vassar College; also several by older masters, here given for the first time, — as Schubert's *Grand Duo, opus* 140, arranged as symphony by Joachim; Spohr's *Irdisches und Göttliches*, for double orchestra; three of the less known by Haydn, including that written for his degree at Oxford. Of overtures, for the first time here, may be named that by Rietz, called *Hero and Leander;* Paine's to *As You Like It;* J. C. D. Parker's to *Hiawatha;* Schubert's to *Rosamunde;* Schumann's to *Julius Cæsar;* Gluck's to *Alceste;* Goldmark's to *Penthesilea;* G. W. Chadwick's *Rip Van Winkle;* and a *Concert Overture* (1870) by Henschel. Of miscellaneous orchestral works, — Bach, Pastorale, from the *Christmas Oratorio*, and *Violin Chaconne in D-minor*, adapted by Raff; Weber, ballet music from *Preciosa;* Schubert, orchestral arrangements of the *Heroic March in A-minor*, and of the *Reiter Marsch* (the latter by Liszt); Mendelssohn's *Octet* (by all the strings); the *Phaëton* of Saint-Saëns; Wagner's *Siegfried Idyl; Marche Nocturne*, by Berlioz, etc. The piano concertos added in these years have included: Hummel, *Concerto in B-minor* (played by Mme. Schiller); Saint-Saëns, No. 2, *G-minor* (Mr. Lang, Mme. Rivé-King), No. 4, *C-minor* (J. A. Preston); Schumann, *Concert Allegro* (H. G. Tucker); Rubinstein, No. 4, *D-minor* (C. Petersilea); Grieg, *A-minor* (William H. Sherwood); Mozart, *Concerto in A* (Tucker); Liszt, *Hungarian Fantaisie* (F. Rummel); L. Brassin, *Concerto in F* (Miss Cochran); H. von Bronsart, *Concerto in F-sharp minor* (Lang); Liszt, No. 2, *in A* (Max Pinner); L. Maas, *Concerto in C-minor*, played by himself. Also the Bach *Concerto for three pianos, in C*, has been played by Messrs. Lang, Parker, and Foote, and that in *D-minor* by Messrs. Sumner, Foote, and Preston. The *First Violin Concerto* of Max Bruch has been played by Mr. T. Adamowski, and a *Concerto for violoncello* of Saint-Saëns, by Mr. Wulf Fries. Many important opera and concert arias by Handel, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini, Schubert, and others, owe their first hearing in Boston to the Symphony Concerts of these six years, and to such singers as Miss Thursby, Miss Fannie Kellogg, Mme. Emma Dexter, Miss Lillian Bailey, Miss Lizzie Cronyn, Miss Ita Welsh, Miss Emily Winant, Miss Louie Homer, Miss Fannie L. Barnes, Miss May Bryant, Mr. Georg Henschel, Dr. Langmaid, Mr. Alfred Wilkie, and others; also fresh bouquets of song from Schubert, Schumann, Franz, Grieg, Jensen, and many more. We are summing up the account of what Boston has been doing for herself in this way, through her own Symphony Society. It would be easy to show a very rich list also of the works which we have heard performed by the fine orchestra of Mr Thomas.

The "orchestral problem" has become here one of *urgency*, so much so that its practical solution cannot be far off. New organizations are already in the field, pursuing the same end with the Harvard, but by different business plans. Another Philharmonic Society, begun on a small scale by Mr. Bernhard Listemann, has been taken up by a large committee of amateurs and musicians, and placed upon the footing of associate-membership subscriptions, whereby concerts, at a low price, and by a large and well trained orchestra, are made to fill the largest hall. Its first year has proved successful. More important is the generous movement of a public-spirited and wealthy friend of music, Mr. Henry Lee Higginson, who, self-inspired and at his sole risk, undertakes the whole burden, for the next year at least, of a course of *twenty* classical orchestral concerts, with twenty public rehearsals, for which Mr. Georg Henschel is to be the conductor of an orchestra of over sixty musicians kept in constant practice, and with the prices of admission on so low a scale as to place this rare resource within the reach of the most slender purses. This looks like the beginning of a permanent first-class orchestra for Boston. The three orchestras will be essentially identical, though under different names and leaders, inasmuch as the sixty men whom Mr. Henschel has to train will also constitute the working force of both the Philharmonic and the Harvard concerts. Together the three bodies offer about sixty concerts (with a symphony in every one) for the next season; so that the musicians will be kept busier than ever before in work worthy of their best artistic skill and effort. Thus Boston will be self-dependent in this important sphere of musical activity, which naturally holds the primacy among all the rest.

With our old Oratorio Society this has been a period of triennial festivals. The successful experiments of 1857 and 1865 led to their regular recurrence, *as an institution*, at intervals of three years, after the manner of those at Birmingham. Five have been given in the Music Hall, and all with gratifying success, resulting in a well-invested trust fund, now amounting to about $22,000, which guarantees their future. The first was in May, 1868, which occupied six days, and consisted of five oratorios, four miscellaneous, and one organ concert. There was a chorus of seven hundred voices, an orchestra of over one hundred instruments, with Mr. Lang at the Great Organ, and Carl Zerrahn, conductor. The leading singers were Mme. Parepa-Rosa and Miss Houston; Miss Adelaide Phillipps and Miss Cary; Messrs. George Simpson and James Whitney; Messrs. M. W. Whitney, J. F. Winch, J. F. Rudolphsen, and H. Wilde. There were pianoforte solos by Miss Alide Topp, and for the violin by Carl Rosa. The programmes included Nicolai's *Choral Fest Overture*; Mendelssohn's *St. Paul, Hymn of Praise*, and *Ninety-fifth Psalm;* Handel's *Samson*, and *Messiah;* Haydn's *Creation;* Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*; Mendelssohn's *Reformation Symphony;* and a great variety of vocal, orchestral, and organ music.

In the four succeeding festivals the chorus has varied from seven hundred to five hundred voices; the instrumentalists from one hundred to about

seventy; and the number of day and evening concerts from nine to five, — the riper judgment tending to the shorter term and number. Experience teaches the society that quality is of more consequence than quantity; that three days may be more inspiring than a whole week of the exceptional; and that five hundred, or even four hundred, true, effective, well-trained voices may do better work in chorus than one thousand. The real and enduring good residing in these stated festivals is that they stand before the singers as high-water marks for their ambition to surpass themselves in better and better work. They keep up the standard of thoroughness in study and excellence in performance. Best of all, they incite to study and performance of great works, before unattempted, both by old and new composers. The additions to the repertoire during these fifteen years have been mainly owing to the festivals. Far above all these attempts, in intrinsic value and unfailing inspiration, has been that most courageous venture in the history of this or any choral body in America, — its resolute grappling with the difficulties and the doubtful popularity of the *St. Matthew Passion Music* of Sebastian Bach. After many intermittent hours of practice and rehearsal, selections from this great work (less than half of it) were first brought out in the second triennial, May 13, 1871. More generous selections were given in 1874; and finally, in April, 1881, by far the larger part of the whole work was interpreted more admirably than before, Mr. Georg Henschel lending his artistic and expressive talent in the recitatives of "Jesus," with the co-operation of other excellent singers, — notably Miss Annie Louise Cary. But it was not in a festival, — it was on Good Friday, 1879, that this *Passion Music* was given here with a completeness such as we do not read of even in Germany or England. In two performances on that one day the entire Part I., and the entire Part II. without omission or abridgment of a single number, were performed before two audiences which filled the Music Hall to overflowing. The spiritual depth and tenderness, the wonderful sublimity and beauty, the dramatic vividness and truth of the Bach music has at length made it felt and loved among us. His exquisite Christmas Oratorio likewise was introduced (Parts I. and II.) in the Festival of 1877, and has been repeated in several concerts of the society.[1]

Perhaps the best lesson and best influence of these Triennial, regularly instituted Oratorio Festivals is that they show the true limits of great fes-

[1] Among other choral novelties which have come up in these festivals are Handel's *Utrecht Jubilate;* Marcello's *Eighteenth Psalm;* Mendelssohn's *Christus*, and several Psalms; Berlioz's *Flight into Egypt;* Costa's *Naäman;* Bennett's *Woman of Samaria;* Hiller's *Song of Victory;* the *Noel*, by Saint-Saëns; Sullivan's *Prodigal Son;* Verdi's *Manzoni Requiem;* while of the works of our own native composers, first hearings have been accorded to Professor Paine's oratorio, *St. Peter*, to Dudley Buck's *Forty-sixth Psalm*, and to J. C. D. Parker's *Redemption Hymn*. These have not prevented frequent reproduction of the well known grandest oratorios, besides great symphonies, etc. Besides the leading singers already named, the following distinguished artists have lent lustre to the festivals and concerts: Mme. Rudersdorff, Mme. Christine Nilsson, Miss Edith Wynne, Miss Clara Louise Kellogg, Miss Emma C. Thursby, Mme. Patey, Miss Antoinette Sterling, Miss Emily Winant, Mr. W. H. Cummings, Signor Campanini, Mr. William Courtney, and Mr. Santley.

tivals, and what a proper musical festival should be. They form at once the safety-valve and steady-going balance-wheel for the protection of musical art against the wildfire enthusiasm and extravagance of "monster" festivals like the Peace Jubilees of 1869 and 1872, which try to do things on a larger scale than the conditions of true art permit. Such world-challenging exceptions prove the rule, — the wholesome, common, modest rule, — which *institutions* like the Handel and Haydn Society, at once progressive and conservative, have wisely chosen to observe.

A prominent feature of this fourth period has been the springing up and prosperous continuance of so many vocal clubs, composed mainly but not entirely of amateurs. The three most important — the Apollo, the Boylston, and the Cecilia — have done not a little to improve the style of chorus singing, to create a love for this refining, wholesome, social practice, and to introduce to general acquaintance many beautiful creations of musical genius, of which the interest will not soon wear out. Originally part-song clubs, for male voices, they have soon found out the limitations and monotony of that small form, and have by preference devoted themselves to the more rewarding study of larger compositions, like cantatas; and not content with the mere outline accompaniment of the piano-forte, they have sought to produce such works in their full character with orchestra. The business organization of these clubs, beginning with the Apollo, has been original and fruitful. These enthusiastic amateurs knew well the interest their friends would take in their endeavors and achievements, and to them they made appeal for the material support and guarantee, upon the system of "associate membership," — the associates paying an annual fee for the privilege of a certain number of admissions to all concerts and rehearsals. The plan has uniformly insured full audiences and sympathy unfailing.

In former days we had the numerous glee-clubs in Boston, Cambridge, but especially in Salem, whose glee-club, under the quickening lead of General H. K. Oliver, then a distinguished classical teacher and fitter of boys for college, had a long and genial career, with an almost exhaustive library of all the famous English madrigal and glee composers. But the immediate forerunner of the present Boston clubs was the first Liedertafel club of our German fellow-citizens, founded many years ago, now called the Orpheus Musical Society. It was purely a part-song club, true to the traditional associations of the male part-song with beer and smoke and unconventional good-fellowship. For some years it has ceased to be a concert-giving society; but in the older days, under the inspiring leadership of Kreissmann, it often sang choice programmes to delighted listeners, sometimes including choral works of magnitude.[1]

[1] We are tempted here, in view of the recent notable achievement in the Sanders Theatre at Cambridge, to introduce a sentence we have chanced to light upon in turning over an old volume of *Dwight's Journal of Music* (April 28, 1860), where, in noticing a concert given in Cambridge a few evenings before by Otto Dresel, in which the Orpheus sang choruses from *Antigone* and *Œdipus*, the editor remarks: "The three Greek choruses were certainly in place; they were greatly relished by the audience, and especially by the genial president, late Greek professor

The Apollo Club (male voices) was formed in July, 1871. Some fifty gentlemen, of the youthful and the middle period of life,—the best of the singers in oratorios, choirs, and glee-clubs,—were drawn together by the desire to practise vocal harmony with an aim to the highest technical perfection and expression, and to realize, if possible, an exquisite refinement in the sphere of song to which they were attracted. And their success has been acknowledged first and last. The number of active members is now seventy-one. The number of associate members reached at once the prescribed limit of five hundred, which it has always kept. To the careful training and conductorship of Mr. B. J. Lang the club has always owed a great part of its success. It has given sixty-eight concerts to its associates and friends, besides singing on several patriotic and memorial occasions.[1]

In the selection of its active members the Apollo has been most exacting as to quality of voices, facility in reading music, musical temperament and feeling, and *esprit du corps*. In its recent public efforts a striking feature has been a certain Anacreontic freshness, alike of voice and enthusiasm, well preserved among its oldest members.

The Boylston Club (formed May, 1873) was purely a male part-song club of younger men, who rehearsed for a long time privately under Mr. J. B. Sharland. It kept within the modest sphere of the part-song and chorale until it reached rare excellence in execution. It took a fresh start and entered on a wider field in 1875, when that accomplished singer and musician Mr. George L. Osgood took the helm as teacher and conductor. The choir then numbered about a hundred male voices, and, besides the choice part-songs with which it was continually replenishing its store, it attacked some larger works,—as the "Dies Iræ," from Cherubini's *Second Requiem*, an *Adoramus Te* by Palestrina, Schumann's *Gipsy Life*, etc. In 1877 the club mated itself with an equally large and select choir of female voices, so that it could present works either for male, or female, or mixed chorus.[2] The

[C. C. Felton], whose administration might well signalize itself by the production, some day, of an entire tragedy of Sophocles, with Mendelssohn's noble music, by the students under his charge. His enjoyment would have been still more perfect, no doubt, had the choruses been sung in Greek instead of German."

[1] To show how its scope has become enlarged from mere unaccompanied part-songs, we take the following summary from the programme-book of its tenth anniversary concert (April, 1881): "The club has brought out the following works, some of them for the first time in this country: the *Antigone*, by Mendelssohn; *Œdipus at Colonus*, by Mendelssohn; *The Luck of Edenhall*, by Schumann; *The Flower Net*, by Goldmark; *Chorus of Dervishes*, by Beethoven; *A Vintage Song*, by Mendelssohn; *Scenes from the Frithjof-Saga*, by Max Bruch; selections from *A Night at Sea*, by Tschirch; *The Warder Song*, by Ratt; *Foresters' Chorus*, by Schumann; *To the Sons of Art*, by Mendelssohn; *Morning*, by Rubinstein; *A Roman Song of Triumph*, by Max Bruch; *The Nun of Nidaros*, by Dudley Buck; *Night on the Ocean*, by Brambach; *The Almighty*, by Schubert; *Chorus of Pilgrims*, by Wagner; *La Marseillaise*, with instrumentation by Berlioz; and the *Song of the Spirits over the Waters*, by Schubert; also, with piano-forte accompaniment instead of an orchestra, the Prisoners' Chorus, from *Fidelio*, by Beethoven; *Easter Morning*, by Hiller; *Salamis*, by Gernsheim; a part of Cherubini's *Requiem*; *Evening*, by Lachner; *Hope*, by Hiller; and *Alcestis*, by Brambach."

[2] Among the more important works which, through Mr. Osgood's zeal, it has produced are Palestrina's *Mass for the Dead* (*a capella*), twice; an *Eight-part motet* by Bach; Astorga's *Stabat Mater*; the *Choral Hymn*, by Brahms; Schubert's *Night Song in the Forest*, with four horns; and the posthumous psalm, *By the Waters of Babylon*, by Goetz,—this last alone with orchestra,

club in both its branches has reached a degree of excellence in singing which compares well with any of its rivals. Mr. Osgood's tenor solos, sometimes in part-songs of his own composing, have often added interest.

The Cecilia, as an independent body, with Mr. Lang as musical director, gave its first concert in January, 1877, singing *The Crusaders*, by Gadé.[1] The Cecilia has employed an orchestra rather as the rule than the exception. The printed annual reports of its president, Mr. S. L. Thorndike, full of thoughtful comment on its work and progress, may be counted among its valuable contributions to the musical movement of our city.

Each of these clubs has done much to raise the standard of good chorus-singing; to introduce larger works, in the form of secular cantata, etc. (in their integrity, with orchestra), which lie out of the range of oratorio societies; and to bring forward promising young solo talent, which there is no room to enumerate, and which need not yet pass into history. They have called into existence a great crop of similar clubs, both here and elsewhere, — witness the Loring Club in San Francisco, whose founder and leader, Mr. David W. Loring, was one of the zealous members of our own Apollo, and carried the good seed with him when he emigrated thither.

This period has been the heyday (high day) of pianists. Of Dresel, Parker, Leonhard, we need not speak again. Ernst Perabo, just out of boyhood, returned from study in Leipsic in 1866, and made a brilliant impression in the closing concert of the first symphony season; since which day he has always held his own among the ablest interpreters of great piano music, drawn, evidently with peculiar love, to the sonatas of Beethoven and of Schubert, and the fugues, partitas, suites, etc., of Bach. Of visiting artists, Miss Alide Topp (1869), Miss Anna Mehlig (1870–72), Miss Marie Krebs (1871), and Mme. Arabella Goddard (in the Jubilee of 1872), were the fair harbingers of those two giants, Rubinstein and Hans von Bülow, who came in 1872 and 1875, — great suns who set the piano-playing and adoring world revolving round them, and aroused the passionate ambition of many a sleepless young Themistocles of either sex. Meanwhile, in December, 1873, that attractive lady and pianist of the most finished Leipsic school, Mme. Madeline Schiller, made her début in the Symphony Concerts, and remained here, much sought as a teacher and always a sure attraction as performing artist, until the early summer of 1878. Boston could claim her as its own through all those years. Later (1877) came the

but no doubt the Boylston will soon come to that. Numerous cantatas, etc., of Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, etc., have been sung by this as by the other clubs. The accompaniments (piano-forte) have commonly been played by Mr. Carlyle Petersilea, and the programmes have been varied with choice instrumental music and with solo airs.

[1] It has since produced, — of Bach, two cantatas, with orchestra, and several chorals; Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, and selections (with orchestra) from *L'Allegro*, etc.; Mendelssohn's *Athalie*, the *Forty-third* and *Ninety-fifth Psalms*, and the whole *Midsummer Night's Dream* music, with orchestra, and with the admirable reading of Mr. George Riddle; Schumann's *Manfred*, with Mr. Howard Ticknor's reading, and scenes from Goethe's *Faust*, — both for the first time here, the latter twice, and with the aid of Mr. Henschel, Mr. C. R. Adams, Miss Gertrude Franklin, and other acceptable solo singers; Max Bruch's *Odysseus* and *Fair Ellen*; H. Hofmann's *Fair Melusina*; and many fresh and well selected smaller works.

charming and most graceful Russian lady, Mme. Essipoff, — by some mischance not sought here with so much enthusiasm as her rare artistic qualities deserved. In 1878–79 Franz Rummel paid us a few flying visits. In 1879 Rafael Joseffy gave us most plentifully out of his rich stores, and seemed to many to surpass all before. The last were Constantin Sternberg (Russian) and Oliver King, the young composer and pianist to the Princess Louise of Canada. Occasionally, too, came S. B. Mills and Richard Hoffman of New York, Mme. Rivé-King, Mr. F. Boscovitz, and more.

In the mean time Boston has been rich in pianists of its own, among them three or four who are pre-eminent. Of Perabo we have already spoken. At about the same time with him, Carlyle Petersilea returned from Leipsic studies, who seems to have all the most difficult music at his fingers' ends, is equal to any task, whether in performance or accompaniment, has many pupils, and indeed a flourishing Academy of Music, and would command many votes in any competition for the first rank. B. J. Lang, whom we have met all along the road in various useful functions, has grown year by year, by force of talent, unremitting industry, temperate self-control, practical wisdom, and high aim, to a position of the widest influence, perhaps, among all our resident musicians. He has probably taught more pupils than any other teacher. His days would hardly seem long enough for all these hours (*Stunden*), as the Germans call such lessons; yet he has found time for a continual round of concerts and recitals, for the training and conducting of choral clubs, church choir, sometimes a symphony, for presiding at the organ in the oratorios, as well as at the piano in rehearsals, and for the bringing out of many new works of the larger kind. He, too, has been a teacher of teachers. It has been truly said of him that his pupils have become his disciples; they all espouse his cause, and he can always count upon their loyalty. Quite a group of these are among the most available and useful members of the active musical force of Boston, always ready in emergencies, where an able pianist, or three or four together (as in a Bach concerto), are required. The group includes Messrs. G. W. Sumner, G. A. Adams, H. G. Tucker, Arthur Foote, and J. A. Preston, all of whom give concerts and recitals of their own with programmes of great interest, and rank as excellent pianists; and we must add (more on the ground of general musicianship and critical intelligence than of piano-playing as such) the name of William F. Apthorp. The youngest of these leading spirits, Mr. William H. Sherwood, came later (1876), and has had less time to carve out his quarter of the empire. His accomplished wife (Mrs. Mary Fay Sherwood, a gifted pupil of Dresel twenty years ago) shares his work and triumphs with him. Mr. Sherwood, a native of Western New York, is of the school of Kullak in Berlin, and won admiration there. His strong, vital touch and accent, the precision, fluency, and brilliancy of his execution, and his almost boundless repertoire of masters old and new, have placed him among the foremost concert artists. He has an eager host of pupils, and he gets a deep hold on them if they have any

talent. Some of them have won distinction in their turn. Mr. Sherwood is always in demand for concerts, festivals, and Summer Normal Schools in other cities South and West. When we add to these the names of S. Liebling, Otto Bendix, John Orth, H. P. Chelius, Edward B. Perry (a real artist, although robbed of sight), Miss S. Winslow (earnest pupil of the Stuttgart school), Miss Amy Fay (now in Chicago), Miss Josephine E. Ware, Mr. Warren Locke of Cambridge, Mr. T. P. Currier, and more too numerous to mention (for history must leave off unfinished in order to leave off at all), we find Boston amply provided with pianists, if with no other musical resources.

But while we count up all these hands and brains that have been weaving out before our hearing eyes so vividly and palpably the marvellous tone-poems of the piano-forte composers, let us not forget the instrument itself which has made this possible, and of whose manufacture and enormous multiplication Boston, from the first days of Jonas Chickering, has been one of the world's chief seats. If only to do honor to that name, which might have figured fitly and prominently in any one of the preceding periods, we should dwell a moment here. Boston abounds in piano manufacturers, many of them prosperous and widely known, engaged in an extensive business; but all will heartily admit him, and the great house he has built up, to be the first and foremost of their craft. He did not live to enjoy our "heyday" of pianists (he died in December, 1853); but none the less has most of the music made here by the greater part of them been through the medium of the Chickering pianos. He "builded better than he knew." His superior intelligence, his inventive genius, and great moral force of character and purpose almost suffered in the general first impression that he made, from the remarkable development of all the kindly, generous, and gentle traits in him. He was a most simple, unassuming, plain, and quiet person in his manner and appearance. His father was a farmer and blacksmith in the village of New Ipswich, N. H., where he was born in April, 1797, and brought up with a good common-school education. At the age of seventeen he was apprenticed for three years to a cabinet-maker in his native town. There was one solitary piano in the village, and one maiden that could play; and we have heard how the bashful lad, eager to drink in the dulcet sounds, would go and linger by her gate. Was she not a sort of St. Cecilia to him? And was not that piano, discoursing simple and old-fashioned music, a rarer revelation and delight to that boy's wondering soul, than many a most artistic concert to the satiated ears of amateurs in cities? In course of time the piano got out of tune, and "out of *kilter*," and the ingenious Jonas must be called upon to try his hand at putting it in order. He succeeded, after much experimenting, in restoring the wondrous machine to usefulness. He was then nineteen, and this was the germ of the great piano-making business which now bears his name. He came to Boston on the 15th of February, 1818, and sought and found employment from that very day.

Do we not see the simple country lad, after he came to town, drawn to that Park Street choir, as the moth to the candle, and not quite happy until his voice could mingle in the harmony? Later we may see him, president-conductor, beating time for the Handel and Haydn chorus (1843–49); and again, in the days of his prosperity, extending hospitalities to musical artists, assisting young beginners, active in the councils of the Mechanics' Association, and a generous patron of all good charities and public enterprises. Well and wittily was his health once given: "Jonas Chickering! like his own pianos: Upright, Grand, and Square."[1]

Of Chamber Music in the stricter sense of violin quartets, etc., during this period, there have been but flickering, though frequent, manifestations. The old Mendelssohn Quintette Club has grown more and more peripatetic, carrying the gospel of good music into distant parts, even to the Pacific coast; yet Boston has remained its home and starting-point, and all its "missionary work" has not prevented it from giving us, at the beginning or the end of every season, several rare feasts of the older and the new creations in this form of art. Its membership has changed repeatedly, Mr. Thomas Ryan alone maintaining the identity throughout. It was never, probably, in a more excellent condition than at present, — if its movement only were not so centrifugal!

In 1869 and in 1871 Mr. Bernhard Listemann undertook quartet matinées, which were too good to yield to first discouragements. Again in 1874–75 he formed a Philharmonic Quintette Club, which in its turn has disappeared. Several such Pleiad groups have sparkled for a while, and set too early. In 1873 Messrs. C. N. Allen, J. Mullaly, Wulf Fries, and others formed the Beethoven Quintette Club, which made good headway for a time; now, as a quartet club, with Mr. Gustav Dannreuther in the second place (sometimes alternating with the leader) it is doing excellent service, both in public and in "musicales" in private houses.

Most of the chamber-concerts of these years have been in the mixed form of trios or quartets in which the piano-forte holds the central place. Mr. J. C. D. Parker gave a course of trio-soirées in 1869; Mr. Arthur Foote another, every Saturday evening in February and March of the present year, assisted by Messrs. Allen, Dannreuther, Fries, etc., and with choice song-selections; and the faithful teacher Mr. Junius Hill has for several years had trio practice carried on among his advanced pupils with the aid of professional artists. In all of these the programmes have been mainly

[1] The magnitude and the importance of the piano-forte business in Boston has a signal illustration (since we have room for only one) in the note subjoined: —

DEAR SIR, — In reply to your request for statistics we will say, that Mr. Jonas Chickering began to manufacture Pianos in Boston, April 15, 1823. The first year he finished fifteen pianos. There were finished —

From 1823 to 1833	. . . . .	684 Pianos
„ 1833 to 1843	. . . . .	4,170 „
From 1843 to 1853	. . . . .	7,546 Pianos.
„ 1853 to 1863	. . . . .	11,393 „
„ 1863 to 1873	. . . . .	17,166 „

Should the same number be finished in 1881 and 1882 that were produced last year, it will be safe to call the product from 1873 to 1883, 21,928. We anticipate an increase in this number.

Truly yours,

CHICKERING & SONS.

[See also Mr. Atkinson's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

classical and most instructive. Other leading pianists — Perabo, Lang, Leonhard, etc. — have often introduced such trios, quartets, and quintets into their concerts and recitals; and the two Conservatories for years have kept up a continual round of chamber-matinées (mostly with piano and with singing) for the improvement of their throngs of pupils.

In 1879 was formed the Euterpe, a society having more of the elements of permanence. It holds itself free to choose its field in any form of music, but thus far it has devoted itself to the one form for which some institution was most needed, — to the violin, quartet, quintet, octet, and the like. Regarding such music as best suited to a comparatively small and select audience in a small hall, it has held a somewhat private and exclusive character, disposing of its tickets personally, upon the "associate-membership" principle, and limiting the membership to one hundred and fifty subscribers, each entitled to two season tickets. It began Jan. 15, 1879, with a series of four concerts, and has since given two more series of five. Its policy has been to employ the best quartet parties of Boston and New York, alternately, in the interpretation of its strictly classical programmes, limited each time to two string compositions in sonata form.

Opera has still remained the beautiful exotic and capricious visitor it always was; the fever of a week or two, refusing any wholesome, permanent organic form. It has brought us in these fifteen years some famous singers, and given us first hearings of a few more or less important works. In 1867–68 there was the Strakosch Italian troupe, — Mme. Parepa-Rosa, Miss Phillipps, Signors Brignoli, Susini, etc.; afterward Mme. Lagrange; and there was a Maretzek troupe, including Mme. Rosa, Minnie Hauck, Ronconi, etc. In 1870 and in 1872 Mme. Rosa gave us good opera in English, with such singers as Mrs. Seguin, Miss Rose Hersée, Miss Clara Doria, Mlle. Vanzini, and Messrs. Castle, Lawrence, Tom Carl, Campbell, Cook, and others; and to her we owe the *Oberon* of Weber, the *Water-Carrier* of Cherubini, and Rossini's *La Gazza Ladra*, besides good familiar pieces. Then the Siren took the form of Christine Nilsson, in three several visits (1871–74), supported by Miss Cary, Messrs. Capoul, Maurel, Jamet, etc., who for a novelty brought us *Mignon* by Ambroise Thomas; and we had Verdi's *Aïda*, sung by Mme. Torriani and Miss Cary, Signor Campanini, etc.; and at the new Globe Theatre three weeks of Mlle. Albani, who with Miss Cary, Signors Carpi, Del Puente, etc., gave us the first hearing of Wagner's *Lohengrin* (1875). In 1873 came Pauline Lucca, with Miss Kellogg and Mme. Di Murska; in 1876, for a few nights, the queenly Tietjens; and in the spring of 1877 there was vouchsafed to us the fresh sensation of a "Wagner Festival" of a whole week at the Boston Theatre, with Mmes. Pappenheim and Clara Perl, Herren Werrenrath, Bischoff, Blum, etc., who gave four specimens of the Wagnerian drama, — *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, the earlier *Fliegende Holländer*, and *Die Walkyrie*; and, as an acceptable offset, Beethoven's *Fidelio* in a better style than we had had before. Finally there have been three short seasons of "Her Majesty's Opera," under the direction of Colonel

Mapleson, in which Italian opera has been given on a more complete scale than by any visiting company before; and the fascinating high soprano, Etelka Gerster, with Miss Hauck, Mme. Frapolli, the brilliant tenor Campanini, etc., in a long list of standard operas, have drawn enormous houses, — the principal novelty being Bizet's *Carmen*.

French opera bouffe has had its brief demoralizing day among us, and has found a speedy antidote in something full as light and popular, while innocent, and musically more original and fresh. But first we must not forget to speak of several genial and charming comic operettas, composed by our own Julius Eichberg and popular before and since the French invasion; namely, the *Doctor of Alcantara*, the *Two Cadis*, etc. The effective substitute and cure for the opera bouffe contagion appeared in the extraordinary popularity of Sullivan's *Pinafore*, which ran through all the theatres, and which, being easy music and within the musical and vocal means of many of our clever native singers, has resulted in numerous domestic companies for its performance, as well as in not a few imitative or half-original attempts at composition in a similar vein. Whether these bubbles, rising on all sides and glittering each for a brief spell in the gaslight of so many theatres, are any indication of an original creative principle below the surface, which may yet assert itself in really musical, imaginative, and noble lyric works both light and serious, and give us finally the native opera, the institution so long speculatively and vainly dreamed of, — time alone will show. Some of these playthings certainly are clever; some, on the other hand, show but the slightest symptoms of musicianship, being ingeniously made up for a present purpose, not composed; yet the practice they involve begets a certain empirical routine-familiarity with knacks and processes, without which genius, even if it should abound, could not be operative. Perhaps it is the nursery for greater things in store.

Almost simultaneously the two Conservatories, so called, started on the race, — the Boston Conservatory on Feb. 11, 1867, and the New England Conservatory one week later at the Music Hall. The former was and is the enterprise of the accomplished artist and musician Julius Eichberg, who as director was assisted by Messrs. Kreissmann, Leonhard, and numerous able teachers since their time. It has always had a goodly number of pupils, to whom it has sought to impart a sound musical education, while it has not catered for the largest number. It has followed the economical system of teaching by classes, dividing the lesson among four pupils at a time; it has furnished good instruction in all the practical and theoretic branches; it enables its pupils in the course of every season to hear a great deal of good music, by providing chamber-concerts for their benefit. In one department, the Violin School, it is unique. Here Mr. Eichberg has accomplished wonders. Little girls and boys of six or eight, who look almost overweighted by the instrument, play music of considerable difficulty, with facile, finished execution and with good expression. The more advanced among them do not shrink before the concertos of Spohr, the con-

cert-pieces of Ernst, Vieuxtemps, Wieniawski, or even the great *Chaconne* by Bach. This last-named masterwork has often been played together, in well-nigh perfect unison, by half-a-dozen of these pupils of both sexes. They also practise quartet playing, and know many of the string quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven by taking actual part in them. Indeed, a quartet club of four young lady-pupils (complete with 'cello and viola) is in continual demand for concerts; and several of the graduates from these classes have since been favorite pupils of great European masters like Joachim. Here is material for our future orchestras.

The New England Conservatory, founded by Dr. Eben Tourjee, after one or two similar experiments in his native Rhode Island, gathered from the first into its fold the greatest number of pupils. It has counted nearly fifteen hundred at once. It has taught by classes of six together. Its roll of teachers has included, from time to time, the name of nearly every leading Boston member of the musical profession. There is hardly a well-known pianist, organist, singer, contrapuntist, or orchestral player who has not, at one time or another, spent some hours of his busy day in the class-rooms of this populous Conservatory. Of course not all among these throngs of pupils expect to become musicians: many avail themselves of such facilities to learn, at small expense of time or money, to play or sing a little, to listen well, and talk intelligently of music. Among them also must be many who have talent, which they have earnestly and diligently cultivated with these aids; and have thus become fitted to go forth as teachers in their turn, — perhaps as artists. The Saturday concerts, in which leading artists often take part, — concerts which now count up to over six hundred in number, — have helped to familiarize the pupils with the best works of the best composers. The very atmosphere of such a thronged and busy musical beehive cannot be without some influence. This Conservatory has for several years been supplemented by a musical department in the Boston University, in which advanced pupils, — under the same director and essentially the same corps of teachers, — study with a view to practical musicianship. The piano-forte class, under the care of Mr. J. C. D. Parker, has shown sometimes remarkable proficiency.

Among the music schools of Boston, the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind has from the first stood high.[1] In age it ranks them all. From its very infancy, in 1832, its far-seeing, philanthropic founder, Dr. S. G. Howe, felt the importance of compensation for the want of sight through finer cultivation of the sense of hearing, and knew the peculiar aptness of the blind for music. Here again we meet at the threshold, as first music teacher, Dr. Lowell Mason (1833). He was succeeded, about 1840, by that able and earnest musical educationist and journalist of the Academy days, Mr. Theodore Hach. Then came the lamented Joseph Keller; then for nine years Mr. Anton Werner, followed by Carl Ansorge, — all faithful, excellent instructors. But the department received a new

[1] [See the chapter on "Education," in the present volume. — Ed.]

impulse and expansion, and its standard was greatly raised, during the War of the Rebellion, under the administration of Mr. F. J. Campbell, himself blind from the age of three, an accomplished and intelligent musician having a genius for organization. He made himself acquainted with all the musical activities and principal musicians of the city; and every opportunity was given to the pupils of hearing the oratorio, symphony, and other high-class concerts. Their own proficiency as organists, pianists, and chorus singers was strikingly exhibited in their occasional concerts, or before chance visitors. Some of them were equal to the rendering of great fugues of Bach, sonatas of Beethoven, etc. Their programmes, indeed, were and have ever since been of a high and classical character. Their band of brass and reeds has won favor wherever it has been heard. Mr. Campbell's ambition, seconded by Dr. Howe, was to build up a complete national college of music for the blind in America; but meanwhile, travelling in Europe, he fell in with the blind physician, Dr. T. R. Armitage, in London, who had conceived a similar idea. They joined forces, and from their eloquent appeals and energetic labors sprang the Royal Normal College and Academy of Music for the Blind at Upper Norwood, Surrey, near the Crystal Palace, under the patronage of Queen Victoria, the Prince and Princess of Wales, etc., and very liberally endowed. Mr. Campbell was placed at its head in 1872, and it is still carried on with signal success under his direction, with a corps of teachers nearly all recruited from our Perkins Institution here. Music is pursued there in the highest sense of art, as is shown by its programmes, in which such artists as Von Bülow, W. H. Cummings, etc., have sometimes participated.

Mr. Campbell's place here has been well filled by Mr. Thomas Reeves, also blind, under whom the musical department has not only held its own, but gained important ground. For a number of years the tuning of pianos has been a special study with not a few of these pupils, to whom it opens a means of livelihood. Under a highly intelligent blind instructor, Mr. J. W. Smith, they become not only expert tuners, but can take apart and put together the mechanism of the instrument, and keep it in repair. For several years all the pianos in the public schools of Boston have been intrusted to these blind tuners.

Meanwhile, music in the University has overtaken and outrun the dream of those early founders of the Harvard Musical Association. Harvard has her chair of music, on an equal footing with the rest, worthily filled and fruitful in results. Mr. John Knowles Paine of Portland, Me., after long and earnest studies in Berlin, returned to this country in the autumn of 1861; gave admirable evidences of his mastery of the organ, especially in the great school of Bach; was shortly afterward employed at Harvard to succeed the lamented Levi P. Homer as college organist and musical instructor; was appointed "Adjunct" Professor of Music in 1873, and was raised to the full professorship in 1875. His earlier functions at the University were limited by the want of funds for such a branch; and the idea

itself of the true functions of a musical professor had to be gradually wrought out and defined experimentally as he went on. Yet he contrived, by his own zeal and example, to awaken an earnest interest for music in many of the students, and to increase the general faith in music by good concerts and by the new dignity and worth which he imparted to the musical side of academic anniversaries, inaugurations, and memorial services. With the professorship came formal recognition of music as a branch in the curriculum, as one of the "elective" studies. Professor Paine's classes are carried through four several courses, which occupy from three to four years according to the progress of the student. These are (1) Harmony; (2) Counterpoint; (3) History of Music; and (4) Musical Form and Analysis, with exercises in Canon, Fugue, Sonatas, etc. The number of students in these four "electives" for some years has averaged thirty. It is now about twice that number. Each year has elicited several highly creditable original compositions in some of the higher forms, by pupils of these classes. In two instances has a baccalaureate received "honors" (*summos honores*) on account of musical proficiency. Several young men have pursued their musical studies with the professor after graduation, and have, on the ground of a satisfactory examination in the same, received the degree of Master of Arts. These have stepped at once into the practice of the musical profession.

The completion of her grand Memorial Hall, by the addition of the Sanders Theatre, gave to Harvard a well-nigh perfect room for musical performances, attractive to the eye, convenient to an audience of nearly fifteen hundred persons, and excellent acoustically. The musical professor of course was not slow to avail himself of these advantages; and for several winters the Theatre has been the scene of noble concerts, both of orchestral and chamber music, in the course of which Professor Paine's two symphonies have been produced, setting the seal upon his inventive genius and learning as a true composer. His crowning achievement, however, has been in the orchestral and choral music which he has composed for the performance in the Greek, by students, of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, — a triumph of artistic zeal, skill, and thoroughness without example in this country, and too fresh in the minds of all who witnessed it or read of it to require more here than a mere word of mention.

And now that our old University has its musical professor, its noble theatre for music, its earnest students of the art and science, its fledgling composers even, — shall not the evolution go on until there shall be a full faculty of music, as there is of medicine, of theology, of science? Thus would be practically solved the problem of the true Conservatory, or complete school of music, with that guarantee of disinterestedness and of permanence which only an established university can give.

We should now do well, if there were time, to step down for a moment from these heights of art and watch beginnings in the very nursery. We

should look into the public schools, where singing has been taught on a progressive system, from the youngest primaries upward, both by rote and note, for at least forty years. This movement started rather vaguely, to be sure, contenting itself at first with demonstrating that all children, with a very few exceptions, only enough to "prove the rule," can be taught to sing. It was the assertion of a faith, rejected by our Puritan forefathers, in the musical nature of man. Starting in the early days of the Academy of Music, it has grown up into something which can properly be called a Boston institution; and if its principle is sound, the germ of a musical future is contained in it. But we are compelled to omit our brief sketch of its history.

Music in the schools has gone so far that it cannot go back. Generations are growing up sensitive to musical tones, knowing concord from discord, attentive to music when they hear it, interested in it, able to sing somewhat with pleasure to themselves and others, and to read simple music. What a contrast to the dearth of opportunity in those old Puritanic days when a child, had he the genius of a Beethoven in him, found not the slightest sympathy to call it out! Look on that picture and on this! There pleasantness was sin, and the undying musical nature of man (as real as the religious, the intellectual, the social nature) was only part of the original depravity. Here you have stepped into a public school, — say in one of the poorer quarters of the city, — during the lesson by Mr. Holt or Mr. Sharland; you hear the singing and catch the quick, intelligent replies of class after class of girls of eight, nine, ten years old, whose pale complexions tell of homes of poverty in crowded lanes. This is the bright hour of their week, — the hour of higher life and consciousness, of innocent delight and sense of a new power and freedom; and they gain more and more of this inspiring and uplifting resource as they pass through the older Grammar and the High School classes, until they are prepared to be absorbed into the vocal clubs, and renovate the oratorio chorus with fresh voices and more skill in music than their fathers had. Surely we have made progress; and so long as we are faithful to our public schools, music, and music's benign influence, will not die out among us.

Here we must make an end. The story is by no means complete; it is full of omissions of worthy names which have escaped us, and of some topics, important in the eyes of many, which have had to pass unmentioned, since it would be impossible to treat them all in less than a whole volume. But if we have in any degree succeeded in making clear the unity of movement from the beginning to the present in the musical development of Boston, then the history itself, imperfectly as here set forth, should furnish motive for still higher effort in the same direction. The musical past of Boston, if she will truly read it in the light of the idea which can be traced through all the stages of its progress, is to be cherished as the warrant of a providential mission, a pledge to higher duty, and the promise of a fairer future.

RESULTS. — And now from the height that we have reached let us survey the actual position. Among many good signs it is enough to note these few: —

1. Boston is self-dependent now for oratorio festivals, for symphony performances, cantatas, pianists, violin school, chamber-music, — all save opera.

2. For two years the whole musical community has been engrossed in "the orchestral problem," — how to have a permanent orchestra, — now in a fair way of immediate solution through the noble enterprise of Mr. Higginson, in addition to the earlier societies.

3. It is matter of common remark, that, during the past social season musical parties and reunions — often of a high and classical character, employing a Beethoven Quartet Club, etc. — have been on the whole the most frequent form of "society."

4. The vocal clubs (Apollo, Boylston, Cecilia), which began with part-song singing, find more delight in giving larger works — cantatas and the like — in their integrity, with orchestra.

5. Boston has outgrown apparently the childish ambition for "monster" musical festivals on an unprecedented scale of magnitude, and has settled down upon the more musical, artistic, satisfying plan of periodical oratorio festivals as an institution, within the limits of true art and common-sense.

6. We have now our own composers, in whom we can take pride; the chief of whom, as musical professor, represents music at last accepted among the branches of higher culture in our ancient University, and one chief aspiration of the Harvard Musical Association realized.

7. The very marked improvement in the tone of musical literature and criticism, particularly in the daily and the weekly press, rendering the struggling musical journals, as such, almost superfluous, unless on some more comprehensive plan of means and men.

8. And meanwhile the nursery, down in our youngest schools and upward, where instruction in the rudiments of vocal music has become a nearly uniform, progressive institution which there is every motive to develop and perfect, — this, should all else fail, contains for us the seed of "music of the future."

John S. Dwight

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHITECTURE IN BOSTON.

BY CHARLES A. CUMMINGS.

THE interest which attaches to the early houses and other buildings of the first settlers of Massachusetts Bay comes, it must be confessed, rather from association than from any intrinsic quality as of beauty or picturesqueness in the buildings themselves. The Puritan was no lover of beauty in any form; and in his sombre memories the greater or lesser glories of that English architecture with which his eyes had been familiar in his earlier home were but the blazonry of "low ambition and the pride of kings." He was, however, a lover of good and comfortable living; and as soon as the immediate pressure of poverty was lifted, he began to provide himself, in place of the log-houses with which for a time he had been fain to content himself, with dwellings in which as much as possible of the old English comfort might be had, and which wore both within and without an air of characteristic neatness, order, and substantial thrift.

Of these early dwellings the materials for illustration are extremely scanty. In the towns, they were promptly destroyed one after another by the frequently recurring conflagrations which the great house-fires, burning in chimneys of logs rudely plastered with mud or clay, invited, and which the thatched roofs rendered nearly impossible to arrest In the account of Dankers and Sluyter, who travelled through the colony as late as 1680, we read: "All the houses are made of small, thin, cedar shingles, nailed against frames, and then filled in with brick and other stuff; and so are their churches. For this reason these towns are so liable to fires, as have already happened several times; and the wonder to me is that the whole city has not been burnt down, so light and dry are the materials." This danger was not unappreciated at the outset, as may be seen by a passage in a letter of Governor Dudley written as early as 1631, shortly after the burning of Mr. Sharp's house in Boston.[1] Having spoken of the liability to quick

[1] "About noon the chimney of Mr. Sharpe's house in Boston took fire (the splinters not being clayed at the top), and taking the thatch, burnt it down; and the wind being northwest drove the fire to Colburn's house, being —— rods off, and burnt that down also; yet they saved most of their goods." — Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. i.

and disastrous fires, he continues thus: "For the prevention whereof in our new town, intended this Summer, to be builded, we have ordered that no man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented to."[1] The order had, however, little more than the force of a recommendation, and, though "assented to," was not generally obeyed. We do not, indeed, after a little time hear further of wooden chimneys; but the roofs of the commoner houses continued for many years to be covered with thatch.[2]

The earliest houses were naturally of a single story, and of the simplest plan, construction, and design. When the dignity of an additional story was attained, the backward slope of the roof was carried down to a height of eight or ten feet from the ground, generally covering the kitchen; and this feature afforded the one touch of unconscious picturesqueness which redeems the prosaic ugliness of the Puritan houses. The view of the Curtis homestead in Roxbury, given in Vol. I. p. 406, will serve to remind the reader of the effect of this familiar form of roof. Now and then the backward slope was broken at the level of the front eaves, and carried down at a lower pitch, as in the Aspinwall house in Brookline (Vol I. p. 221), or the Pierce and Tolman houses in Dorchester (Vol. I. pp. 431–434).

When greater accommodation was required without enlargement of the area within the walls, the roof, hitherto of low pitch, changed its form radically, starting from the walls at a pitch of sixty degrees or more, and changing at mid-height to a slope of half that angle. This is the gambrel-roof, so called, identical in profile with the mansard roof which prevailed in the French architecture of the seventeenth century, but differing from the mansard in that the ends were always gabled. Occasionally the lower slope of the gambrel was carried down a story lower on the back,—as in the Yeaman house in Revere (Vol. I. p. 448), or the house in Willow Court, Dorchester (Vol. II. p. 361). In rare instances the slope of the roof is broken up by gables, as in the Aspinwall house (Vol. I. p. 221).

Whatever variety is discoverable among the houses of this neighborhood during the first fifty years after the establishment of the colony, arises from the adoption of one or another of these forms of roof. The material was the same in all,—a heavy timber frame, generally of oak, smoothly boarded over and covered with clapboards, so that although there was frequently in fact great massiveness and solidity of construction, there was none in appearance.[3] Below the eaves there was no variation from the simple rectangular

[1] Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. i.

[2] The great fire of 1679, which destroyed one hundred and fifty buildings, convinced the citizens of the dangerous character of the prevailing construction, and the General Court then passed the first Building Act in the history of the town. See Mr. Smith's chapter in Vol. I. p. 231.

[3] A letter from Samuel Symonds to John Winthrop, Jr., in 1637, gives particular directions concerning the plan and construction of a house he was about building at Ipswich: "I would have wood chimnyes at each end, the frames of the chimnyes to be stronger than ordinary, to beare good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimnyes be all the breadth of the howse, if you think good; the 2 lower dores to be in the middle of the howse, one opposite to the other. Be sure that all the dorewaies in every place be soe high that any man may goe vpright vnder. It makes noe great matter

mass. There were no accessory features, — no spacious porches, verandas, balconies, to give individuality to the dwelling. In the closely built streets of the towns occasional variations from this rigid simplicity are to be observed, — as the multiplication of gables, the overhang of the second story,[1] and the occasional use of rough-cast on the exterior wall, — features which were all combined in the quaint old building in Dock Square, built in 1680, of which a view is given in Vol. I. p. 547. The internal plan was nearly invariable, — a narrow entry, opening from the middle of the front, giving access to square rooms on either hand. In the smaller houses this entry was just deep enough to allow space for the doors to the front rooms between the outside door and the square-framed staircase leading to the bed-rooms above. Behind the stairs a great chimney, with cavernous fireplaces back to back, opened to each room, and rose in square and simple dignity from the middle of the roof. In houses of greater pretension the entry was broader and ran through the house from front to rear, the stairs having a straight run on one side, and the great central chimney being replaced by two smaller ones between the front and back rooms on either side, or by single stacks on the side walls. The stateliest mansions of the colonial period did not get beyond this simple plan.[2]

But as wealth increased and the grimness of Puritan life relaxed, and the social life of Boston took on the aspect of a little court around the royal governors, the pride of the wealthy found expression in a class of houses of which some few examples still remain, though the best of them have long since fallen before the march of trade, or, with less reason, through the indifference of their owners. The work for the most part of English artificers, these houses followed, so far as the ornamental features were concerned, the fashion of the day in England.[3] The English renaissance, which had received the impress of such men as Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren, was therefore the source from which sprang the modest architecture of New England. Its richness and stateliness were beyond the reach of the

though there be noe particion vpon the first flore; if there be, make one biger than the other. For windows, let them not be overlarge in any room, and as few as conveniently may be; let all have current shutting draw-windows, having respect both to present and future use. . . . In the garett noe particion, but let there be one or two lucome windows, — if two, both on one side. . . . I would have the howse stronge in timber, though plaine and well brased. I would have it covered with very good oak-hart, inch board *for the present*, to be tacked on only for the present, as you tould me. Let the frame begin from the bottom of the sellar and soe in the ordinary way vpright, for I can hereafter, to save the timber within ground, run vp a thin brick-work without . . ." — 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll*, vii. [For other notes on early buildings see Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, ch. xlviii. — Ed.]

[1] [See picture of the old house in Vol. I. p. 551. — Ed.]

[2] [Other samples of early colonial houses may be noted in the Cradock house in Medford, built in 1639, delineated in Brooks's *History of Medford*, 1855; in Bryant and Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, ii. 382; in S. A. Drake's *History of Middlesex County*, ii. 162; and in Whitefield's *Homes of our Forefathers*, 1879. Also Governor Bradstreet's house, in *New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, i. 75; houses in Palfrey's *History of New England*, ii. 59–62; and still others in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, i. 522; ii. 31, 37, 46; iii. 122, and in various local histories. — Ed.]

[3] John Dunton, in his *Letters from New England*, in 1686, says: . . . "And when any new houses are built they are made conformable to our new buildings in London since the fire."

colonists, but its characteristic elegance and grace of ornament were not unworthily represented in many of the details, both exterior and interior, of the dwellings, the churches, and the public buildings of the principal New England towns. The illustrations given in previous volumes of this work of the Province house, built as early as 1679, the Clark, or Frankland house, built about 1735, the Hancock house, in 1737, and the mansion of Governor Shirley in Roxbury, in 1748 (all illustrated in earlier chapters of this work,), will serve as well as more numerous examples to express the outward character of these old mansions.[1] There was really not much architecture about them, but what there was was unobtrusive and simple, and worn with a certain dignity which is perhaps more charming to us from its contrast to the ambitious and fidgety performances of later and more learned generations. Their interior decoration was commonly confined to one or two of the principal rooms and to the main staircase. A low wainscoting with square panels and with due cap and base, a light classic cornice of plaster or wood, often with dentils or modillions, a broad and high mantel of wood enclosing the ample fireplace, the chimney-breast above faced with a large panel, very simple dressings to doors and windows, — this was generally the extent of the elaboration bestowed on the finish of the best rooms. Now and then, as in the Frankland and Hancock houses, the panelled wainscoting was carried to the ceiling. More rarely the panelling on the chimney-breast was enriched by an attenuated order of pilasters. However much or little decoration was afforded, the details were almost invariably delicate and refined; the errors were all on the side of smallness and reserve, never on the side of coarseness. The great staircase was sure to be the object of as much elaborateness of ornament as could be afforded. The carved and panelled ends of the steps, the panelled soffits, the ingeniously twisted newels and balusters of many of these old staircases are favorite subjects for the sketch-books of architectural draughtsmen, and are copied with scrupulous exactness in the most carefully studied work of the present day.[2]

In the first churches of the Puritan settlers in Boston it is impossible to feel any other interest than that of an antiquarian or a descendant.[3] If the earliest dwellings were bare, prosaic, and ugly, these were more so in proportion to their greater size and conspicuousness. Less attractive buildings, perhaps, never cumbered the ground. They recall the saying of Thoreau concerning the houses of Cape Cod: "They are little removed from lumber; only Eastern stuff disguised with white paint, — the least interesting kind of drift-wood." It is then not a matter of poignant regret that no representations exist of the two wooden meeting-houses which stood, the one

[1] [Views of the houses referred to are given in Vol. II. pp. 89, 527, Vol. III. p. 202, and frontispiece to Vol. II., respectively; and other examples may be found in Vol II., the Faneuil house, p. 523, the Bromfield house, p 521; and in Vol. III., the Wadsworth house, p. 107, Craigie house, p. 112, Elmwood, p. 114. — Ed.]

[2] [There is a view of the Hutchinson house in the *American Magazine*, ii. 237 (1834). See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1881. — Ed.]

[3] [The oldest meeting-house in this part of the country is that still standing at Hingham, of which a view is given in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, ii. 58. — Ed.]

in King Street, the other hard by in Marlboro' Street; and the latter of which, burned in 1711, was replaced by a brick building on the same site, of which a view is given in Vol. II. p. 219 of this work. The new structure expressed the growing resources of the community, but did not give evidence of an increase of architectural enlightenment. It was not until a more genial spirit began to pervade the life of the colony, exhibited in the increased elegance of the dwelling-houses, that the desire was felt for some amelioration in the aspect of the house of worship. The first evidences of this feeling are to be seen in Christ Church in Salem Street, built in 1723, and the Old South, which followed seven years later.[1] In the former of these a visible attempt was for the first time made to give to the small interior something of the ecclesiastical aspect which belonged to an English church. The pilasters which supported the side galleries were carried up to the roof, making a division into nave and side aisles, of which the former was ceiled in the form of a segmental vault, while the latter were covered with transverse vaults of similar form between the pilasters. A modest chancel brought the church into essential conformity with the ancient models. In the Old South Meeting-house, on the other hand, the Puritan form was rigidly maintained. The pulpit, with its ponderous sounding-board, was raised high on the side wall to command the two galleries; the interior was undivided, the flat ceiling unbroken. Within the walls of the two houses the distinction between the Episcopal and the Congregational worship was thus plainly marked. On the exterior, however, the distinction disappeared. The Puritan contempt for architectural splendor had, in a hundred years of prosperity, at length given way. Christ Church had adorned its simple front with a lofty wooden steeple of the style invented by Wren after the great fire of London. The Old South followed the example and reared a more imposing steeple in the same style, which remains to this day substantially unchanged. The steeple of Christ Church was blown down in a gale in 1805, and replaced by another of somewhat lesser height. In both these instances, as in all the churches for a hundred years later, the architectural ambition of the builders was satisfied by the steeple. The body of the church remained as plain and clumsy as the Old Brick itself. No attempt was made, beyond the occasional elaboration of the eaves into a classic cornice, to soften the square and barren outline or to adorn the parts.

In 1749 the King's Chapel was built from the designs of Peter Harrison, an English architect, pupil of Sir John Vanbrugh, and in his youth employed with that master on the works at Blenheim. Harrison after coming to America had found some opportunity at Newport to exercise his talents, and had built there, among other buildings, the Redwood Library. His design for the King's Chapel included a lofty steeple, which had to be omitted for lack of funds. The peristyle which surrounds the base of the tower was also omitted for the same reason, but was added in 1790. The

[1] See illustrations of these in Vol. II. pp. 509–515.

interior was the first in the colony to exhibit real architectural merit. Its only conspicuous defect is lack of height, compelling an awkward treatment of the ceiling, which, however, is not enough to destroy the general impression of dignity and repose.[1]

Brattle Square was the last of the colonial churches.[2] It was built in 1772, with a squat and ugly exterior, unredeemed by any steeple, but with an interior not very unlike that of King's Chapel. The London churches of Wren, Gibbs, and Hawksmoor were the models from which these interiors were studied, and they were by no means unworthy examples of the style of those masters.

Of the early public buildings, properly so called, the list is limited to two, — the Old State House, and Faneuil Hall. Of both these edifices sufficient accounts are given in a previous chapter of this work.[3] Neither of them presents to our eyes the aspect it wore to those who saw it built; yet in both enough of the original character remains to entitle them to a careful and scrupulous protection from further change. The first town-house dates from about 1657. It occupied the same site still covered by its successor. It was of wood, "built upon pillars in the middle of the town," says Dunton, "where their merchants meet and confer every day." This building, of which no representation exists so far as is known, was burned in 1711. A new one of brick was at once erected, and was in its turn partially destroyed by fire in 1747. The walls, however, did not fall, and the house was rebuilt without delay, in the form with which every one who knows Boston is familiar; changed, indeed, radically as to the interior, and outwardly in many important respects, but still retaining the most picturesque and characteristic features of its early days, — its broken gables at either end, its tower rising in three diminishing stages from the middle of the long roof, — features of which its admirable position greatly enhances the effect. A sundial formerly occupied the place of the clock in the east gable, the lion and the unicorn ramped in place of the unmeaning scrolls on either side. The simple pitched roof, rising to a ridge, has given way to a clumsy mansard, in obedience to the sordid demand for rentable offices, in addition to those which had before been carved out of the historic chambers below. Worse than all, an intermittent pressure has been now for some years maintained for the removal of the building, which stands in the way of the impatient traffic of State Street. More than once it has seemed clear that this vulgar clamor, which discredits the commercial intelligence not less than the patriotic sentiment of the city, would prevail, and that the venerable monument was doomed; but a truer feeling has of late been growing strong in the community, and it now seems probable that the Old State House will be carefully preserved for many generations to come.

[1] [A view is given in Vol. II. p. 498. Harrison had come over with Smibert, and after returning to England, he came back to Boston, and married and died here. — Ed.]

[2] A model of this house is in the gallery of the Mass. Hist. Soc.

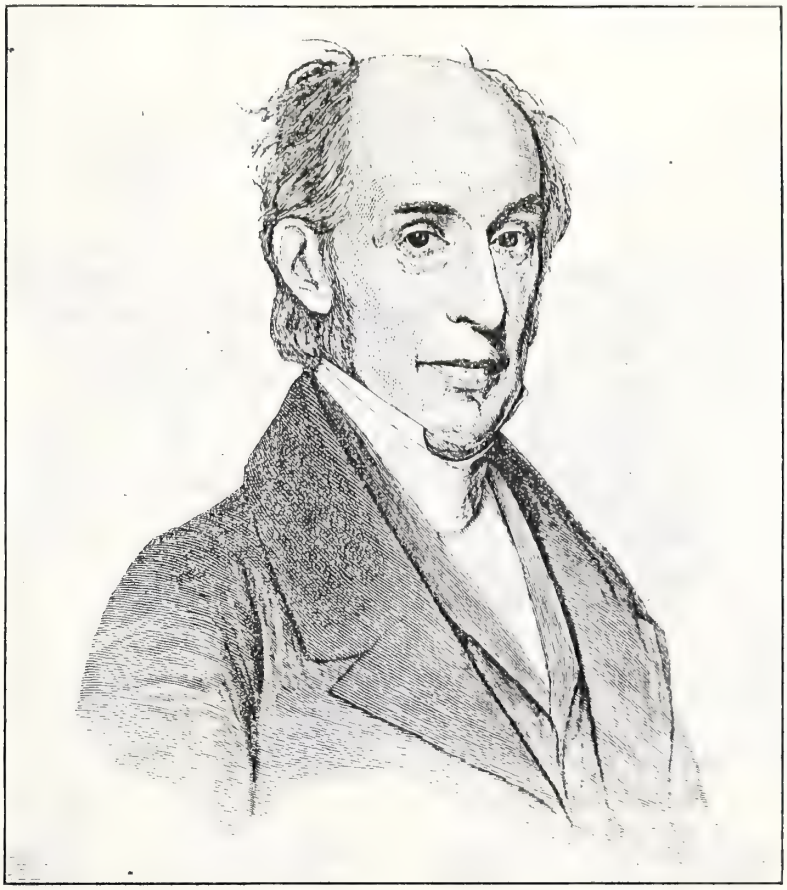
[3] See Vol. II. p. 507; also, Vol. IV. p. 12.

The small building, measuring forty feet in width and a hundred in length, which Peter Faneuil gave to the town of Boston in 1742, and of which John Smibert, the painter of portraits, was the architect, has grown in breadth and height into a much more imposing edifice, though its character has not been otherwise materially changed. This was, perhaps, the first building in the town in which the architecture was, so to speak, spread over the whole surface instead of being confined to one or two prominent parts.[1] In the dwelling-houses a little decoration of the front door-way, a main cornice, and in exceptional cases pilasters at the corners satisfied the architectural requirements. In the churches the external treatment was always confined to the steeple. Even in the Old State House, the end-walls and the central tower were the only portions of the exterior which received much attention, the architecture of the long sides being limited to the dressings of the central door-ways; but in Faneuil Hall, all portions of the exterior received substantially the same treatment, — round arched windows and door-ways, with engaged pilasters between, carrying entablatures at the height of the various stories. As originally built, the ground story was a market, with open arches, and the hall in the second story was somewhat low. The alterations of 1806 doubled the width of the building and the height of the hall, the present galleries being then added at the height of the old ceiling. On the exterior a third order of pilasters and arches was thus added to the two of the original edifice; and the increase of size being unaccompanied by any variation either in outline or in detail, and the arches of the ground-floor being closed by doors and windows, a certain blankness and monotony of effect was the result, which did not belong to the old hall, and which has not been ameliorated by painting the walls of a dusty brown color.

The troubled times which preceded the Revolution put a stop to building, and checked the steady growth of taste and luxury. For a full generation scarcely any addition of importance or interest was made to the architectural worthies of the town or its suburbs. The return of peace found a people impoverished and fatigued, and with quite other things to do than to indulge a pleasant taste in building. It was near the end of the century before the burden of poverty and depression was measurably lightened. With the gradual increase of the population of the town and the return of prosperity, building was resumed with vigor. Architecturally speaking, this was a critical period in the town's history. A difference is to be observed in the tone and manners of the community; the repose and *naïveté* of the provincial times has given place to a more or less conscious ambition as of metropolitan style. It was then by a singular good fortune that the unrecognized profession of architecture should have been at precisely this moment seriously adopted for the first time in New England by a young man of education and taste, whose love for his calling was genuine

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 267. — Ed.]

and steadfast enough to maintain him for forty years in a career which was more fruitful in honor to himself and to the town in which he lived than in pecuniary profit.



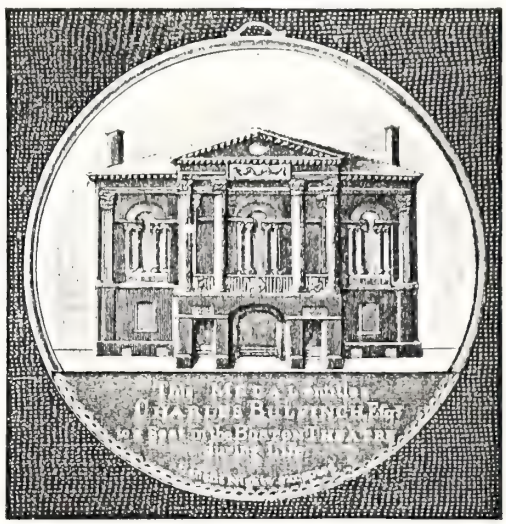
— from your affectionate Father
Charles Bulfinch —

[1]

Charles Bulfinch, born in Boston in 1763, was graduated at Cambridge in 1781, and entered a counting-room; where, the business of the town being paralyzed by the war, then but just beginning to promise a successful issue, he employed his abundant leisure in reading such works on archi-

[1] [This cut follows a likeness drawn in ink, taken late in life, and owned by Mrs. Stephen G. Bulfinch of Cambridge, who also possesses a portrait in oils painted in London in 1786, and a miniature by M[illegible]bone, made about 1788. — Ed.]

tecture as were then accessible. From time to time he found modest opportunity for exercising his taste for building, in repairing his father's and his neighbors' houses, which during the dark days had been suffered to fall out of condition. At the age of twenty-one he went abroad and travelled for a year or two in England and on the Continent, where, as was natural, his taste for architecture was greatly stimulated. The great monuments excited him; it is even related that in St. Peter's he was moved to tears. He bought himself many architectural books, and in due time came home with, as may be supposed, his career quite clearly determined in his own mind. His first work was the monumental column on the summit of Beacon Hill, which owed its existence to his patriotic enthusiasm and energy, and of which the tablets with their inscriptions, preserved in the State House, are all which now remain. Its brief immortality was not proof against the enterprise which cut away the hill on which it stood.[1] When in 1793 the first theatre in Boston was projected, Mr. Bulfinch furnished the design, which appears from the accounts in the newspapers of the day to have been carried out with much completeness and even elegance. Of the exterior we can form some judgment from the medal[2] which was struck at the completion of the enterprise in recognition of the services rendered by the architect, and which bore on one face an elevation of the front on Federal Street, evidently reduced from the architect's drawing, and on the obverse the following inscription: —



THE BULFINCH MEDAL.[3]

"Presented by the Proprietors of the Boston Theatre to Charles Bulfinch, Esq., for his unremitted and liberal attention in the plan and execution of that building, the Elegance of which is the best evidence of his Taste and Talents."

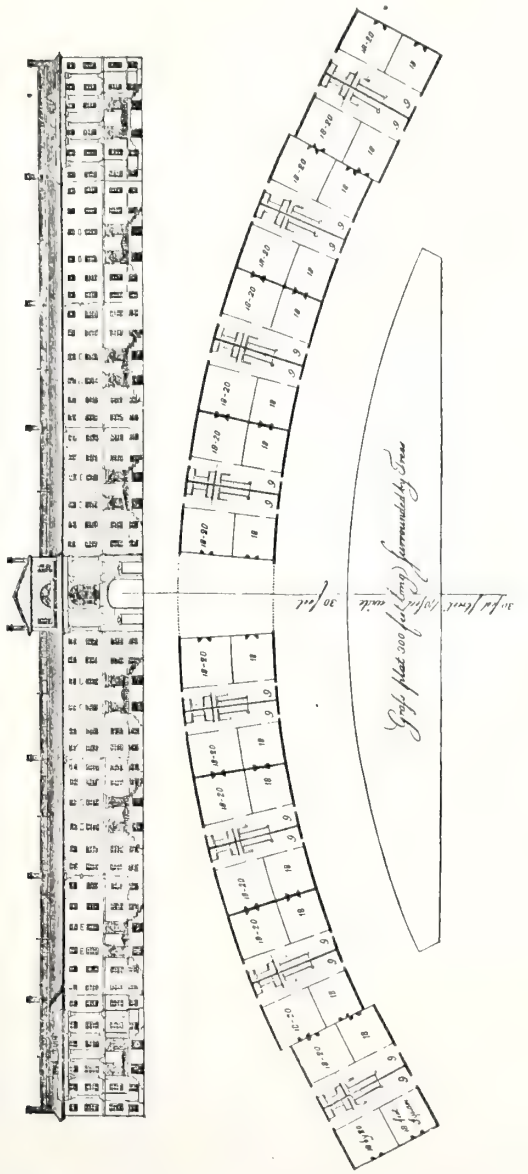
Nearly at the same time with the building of the theatre, Mr. Bulfinch joined with several other gentlemen in a speculation which resulted in the creation of Franklin Place, one of the most interesting features of the city during the earlier half of the century. The original plan embraced two similar crescents, enclosing a small grass-plat with a classic vase in the centre. Some difficulties in the way of obtaining the necessary land made it

[1] [See Vol. IV. pp, 64, 65. — Ed.]

[2] [Also from the cut in the present volume, p. 363. — Ed.]

[3] [This cut follows the original, kindly lent by Mrs. Stephen G. Bulfinch, of Cambridge. — Ed.]

necessary to substitute for the northerly crescent a straight line; but the plan was in other respects successfully carried out. This was the first attempt in Boston at building residences in blocks. Until then the pleasant fashion of setting every house by itself, enclosed by its more or less ample grounds, had been consistently followed. The new buildings were, however, arranged with much skill and good taste, the long line of the crescent being broken in the centre by an archway thrown over an entering street, and the sky-line being judiciously varied by the superior elevation of the centre and the end wings. The houses were of ample size, with a generous and convenient disposition of rooms, and were for half a century among the most desirable dwellings in the city. But the immediate result of the enterprise was disastrous. The growth of the town, though marked and gratifying, was not yet sufficient to warrant the erection of so large a number of expensive dwellings. Heavy mortgages were followed by forced sales at ruinous prices, and Mr. Bulfinch saw himself reduced to bankruptcy. His professional standing was, however, not affected by this misfortune, and his practice rapidly increased. The Masaschusetts



THE TONTINE BUILDINGS.[1]

[1] [For some account of the Tontine Crescent, as Franklin Place was originally called, see Quincy's *Municipal History of Boston*, p. 26; and *Boston Almanac*, 1859. A view of the Tontine Buildings is given in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, February, 1794; and is reproduced in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 66, as well as in the present cut. A perspective view is given on p. 363. It was the first brick block built in Boston. The first block of stone buildings was that in Brattle Street. The urn, erected to Franklin's memory in the little Green in the middle of the street,

State House was his next work. The government of the State had outgrown the little building at the head of State Street, and on July 4, 1795, the corner-stone of the new edifice on Beacon Hill, drawn to the spot by fifteen white horses, was laid by the Governor and the Grand Master with great pomp and ceremony. The original design suffered in some degree from the shortening of the wings; but in spite of this injury, and of the too slight elevation of the dome above the roof, the building has a simplicity and dignity which disarm criticism, and which, combined with its admirable site, give it in a remarkable degree the character of a public monument.[1]

Mr. Bulfinch's practice now included public and private buildings of almost every description. The Roman Catholic Cathedral[2] in Franklin Street, the New North Church in Hanover Street, and the New South on Church Green at the intersection of Summer and Bedford Streets were built from his designs. The last named was a peculiarly attractive church, octagonal in plan, built of white granite, with a classic portico of four Doric columns, surmounted by a graceful steeple one hundred and ninety feet high. The last of his churches was that in Federal Street, in which for the first and only time he tried the experiment of a Gothic spire, with an unfortunate result. All these churches have long since disappeared. The new steeple of Christ Church in Salem Street was also by Mr. Bulfinch.[3]

The Massachusetts General Hospital; the County Court House, afterward used as the City Hall, which occupied the site of the present City Hall in School Street; the Boylston Market; University Hall at Cambridge; most of the granite buildings on the north side of State Street; the long range of dwelling-houses which occupied that portion of Tremont Street from West Street to Mason Street, known as Colonnade Row, — these are some of his most important buildings. Before building the Massachusetts Hospital, and the Insane Asylum at South Boston which was undertaken at about the same time, Mr. Bulfinch made a visit to several other cities to inspect similar institutions. At Washington he had some pleasant intercourse with President Monroe, then just elected to office. The next year the President on his Northern tour made some stay in Boston, where Mr. Bulfinch, chairman of the selectmen of the town, received him officially and showed him his various works. Of all this reciprocal civility the result was, in no long time, the appointment of Mr. Bulfinch as architect of the Capitol at Washington, which had been half burned by the British in the late war. In this honorable position he remained a resident of the capital for a dozen years, returning to Boston in 1830. He was now growing an old man. The only conspicuous building from his hand after his return from Washington was the State House at Augusta, Maine, which was similar in its general design

was, upon its removal, placed upon Bulfinch's grave at Mount Auburn. Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 383. — Ed.]

[1] [See representations of it, before it received the modern extensions, in a cut and heliotype given in the supplementary notes to Mr. Stanwood's chapters in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See view of it in Vol. III. p. 516. — Ed.]

[3] [It is shown in the view of the church in Vol. II. p. 509. — Ed.]

to that of Boston, but smaller. Mr. Bulfinch died in 1844, at the age of eighty. The first professional architect of Boston, holding his modest way through a long life without the stimulus of competition or the encouragement of good-fellowship; without the resources of technical training or the equipment of illustrated examples of every style now ready to the hand of every beginner, — his name is in the highest degree worthy of remembrance and honor by the profession which has followed him and by the community in which he lived so long.

During the first fifteen years of Mr. Bulfinch's practice in Boston he had the field to himself. But the growth of the town was steady and rapid, and the number of prominent buildings erected from year to year was soon too great to be embraced within the care of a single architect. Of some of the most important of these it is now impossible to discover the designer. This is the case with the Exchange Coffee House in Congress Street, near to State Street, built in 1808, and an object of great local pride as the finest hotel in the country. It was seven stories high, and covered an area of more than twelve thousand feet. Its front was one hundred and thirty-two feet long, and was adorned with six lank marble pilasters on a rustic basement, supporting an entablature with a central pediment. The plan showed a great central area, or court, forty by seventy feet, extending eighty-three feet high to the roof, lighted by a dome and surrounded by porticos of twenty columns on each floor, from which opened the rooms of the hotel, — evidently a very grand establishment. Its splendor was short-lived, the building being burned to the ground in 1818.[1]

The meeting-houses of Park Street and Hollis Street were built in 1810 and 1811. Like the others of their class their only pretension to be ranked as architectural works lies in their steeples, both of which are of unusual height and of remarkable grace of composition. Park Street was built from the designs of Peter Bonner, an English architect, of whom little is remembered. He built the fine mansion of Eben Crafts, still standing on the northerly slope of Parker Hill in Roxbury. The architect of Hollis Street is, I believe, not known.

One of the earliest of the architects who came in time to share the field with Bulfinch was Solomon Willard, who — born in Petersham, Massachusetts, in 1783, the son of the village carpenter — learned in his father's shop the use of the tools, but showed a capacity for higher things. Before he was of age, we are told he had "mastered Euclid, and shown considerable expertness in mechanical inventions." At the age of twenty-one he came to Boston, working first at his trade of carpenter, but obtaining gradually a reputation as a carver in wood and stone, in which art he had apparently been his

[1] [See this volume, p. 55, and the view of the building, p. 58. — Ed.]

own instructor. He carved the Ionic capitals of St. Paul's, the wooden capitals of Park Street steeple, and the marble panels in the front of Mr. David Sears's house on Beacon Street (now occupied by the Somerset Club); he made a model in wood of the Capitol at Washington for Mr. Bulfinch, and models in plaster of the Parthenon at Athens and the Pantheon at Rome; he gave lessons in architecture and drawing; finally he appeared as an architect. In conjunction with Alexander Parris he built St. Paul's Church on Tremont Street. Shortly after, in 1825, he was selected by the Bunker Hill Monument Association, after much vacillation, as the architect of the obelisk. The history of the adoption of the design for this monument is curious. A portion of the committee were in favor of a reduction of Trajan's column, while the remainder were for an Egyptian obelisk. The latter carried the day, chiefly on the ground of its greater economy. Mr. Horatio Greenough presented a design and model for an obelisk a hundred feet high, raised on a plinth twenty feet high, approached by four flights of steps. This was finally rejected by the committee, and a design submitted by Willard for a shaft two hundred and twenty

SPIRE OF HOLLIS STREET MEETING-HOUSE.[1]

[1] [The previous building on this site was erected from a design by Bulfinch in 1787. It had two towers, and is shown in the *Columbian Magazine*, April, 1788, and in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, December, 1783. It forms the most conspicuous object in the view given in the

feet high, without accessories, was adopted and carried out.[1] Mr. Willard fixed upon a quarry in Quincy as likely to furnish stone of the desired quantity and quality, and purchased of Mr. Gridley Bryant for $325 the privilege of quarrying as much as might be required for the monument.[2] The United States Bank in State Street, a small granite building with the front of a Grecian Doric temple *in antis*, of which the columns, much reduced in size, now form a part of the façade of the Merchants' Bank building on the same site; and the County Court House, still standing in Court Square, a dismal prison, built in 1832, with two severe Doric porticos at the extremities, one of which has been removed, — these, with St. Paul's and the monument, were the chief works of Willard.

Alexander Parris was perhaps more engineer than architect; yet in Mr. Bonney's shop at Pembroke, where the boy was apprenticed to the carpenter's trade, the occupation of his leisure moments was the study of Nicholson's *Architecture*. At the close of his apprenticeship he removed to Portland, where he furnished designs for several important buildings. A little later we find him similarly engaged at Richmond. It was not until the close of the war with Great Britain in 1815 that he settled in Boston, where both as architect and engineer he occupied a prominent position for nearly thirty years. St. Paul's Church, referred to above as having been built by Parris in conjunction with Willard, was doubtless the best work of both. It presents to the street a simple Ionic hexastyle portico, with somewhat attenuated columns of freestone from Acquia Creek, and a pediment which it was intended to fill by a bas-relief representing Paul preaching at Athens. The requisite funds were, however, wanting for such a luxury as a sculptured pediment, and the rough blocks remain to this day to remind us of the loss. Had the design been carried out, another laurel might probably have been added to the brow of Willard. Parris built also the Quincy Market,[3] the Marine Hospital at Chelsea, the Arsenal buildings at Watertown, and many private buildings of which no record is at hand. He held for fifteen years the office of constructing engineer at the Charlestown Navy Yard, and was charged with many occasional duties outside that position, — as the construction of sea-walls on the islands of Boston Harbor, and several light-houses, beacons, and breakwaters on the New England coast. Mr. Parris died in 1852.

Asher Benjamin is less remembered for his buildings than for his books. His first work, long the sheet-anchor of house-builders throughout New England, was published as early as 1806 by Etheridge & Bliss in Boston, with this title: *The American Builder's Companion; the five orders of Architecture, with great alterations both in size and expense, etc., etc., by Asher Benjamin, Architect and Carpenter, and Daniel Rayner, Architect and Stucco-*

Massachusetts Magazine, November, 1790. This building, when the present structure was erected, was floated on a raft to East Braintree, where it became the place of worship of the Rev. Joseph Perkins's society. — Ed.]

[1] [See the present volume, p. 403. — Ed.]

[2] [See the chapter on "Canals and Railroads" in the present volume. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. III. p. 228, for a perspective view of this structure. — Ed.]

worker. This work ran through many editions, and was succeeded by the *Rudiments of Architecture*, the *Practice of Architecture*, the *Builder's Guide*, and last of all, in 1840, the *Architect; or, Practical House Carpenter*. These were what their titles implied, — practical guides to the builder who undertook the duties both of carpenter and architect; and from the faithful study of them grew the classic house-fronts and interior details of a generation to which systematic architectural education was as yet unknown.

Isaiah Rogers, a contemporary of Willard and Parris, was the architect of the Tremont House in 1828, and of the Merchants' Exchange in State Street a few years later, as of many less conspicuous buildings. It will be observed that this was the age in Boston of a sort of Greek revival, when not only churches like St. Paul's, and public buildings like the Court House, the Bank, and the Tremont House, but even dwelling-houses must be fitted out with a portico of columns in the severest cast of Doric. Often, as in the case of the Court House, this was the only attempt at architecture in the whole building; often, as in the case of innumerable suburban houses, the great wooden columns, three or four feet in diameter, were backed by a front wall pierced by three stories of parlor and bed-room windows. Perhaps no absurdity of fashion in architecture was ever more preposterous than this. Its foolishness had not yet been appreciated even as late as 1838, when the Boston Custom House, the most costly building at that time in the city, was begun. Its architect was Ammi B. Young, a man of much professional experience and ability, who was yet unable to perceive the incongruity of encumbering a building for the transaction of public business, requiring constant writing and constant perusal of papers, with such shadowy obstructions as porticos in the Grecian Doric style.

The Greek period was followed, as was natural, by the Gothic period. The Gothic spire of Federal Street, Bulfinch's only attempt in that direction, was not provocative of emulation, and remained long the solitary example; but about the year 1835 the Masonic Temple on Tremont Street, now the United States Court House, and Trinity Church in Summer Street, a massive structure of rough-hewn granite, with a low, square tower in the middle of the front,[1] opened the way for this new Gothic invasion. The results were rather more serious than in the case of the Greek revival, inasmuch as then the architects could conscientiously go to their books, and insure themselves against any too frightful solecisms by following the rules and proportions there laid down; but in the Gothic style there are no rules, and the untutored architects found themselves afloat on an uncertain sea without chart or compass. In an evil hour the fashion caught the suburban builders, and little boxes began to spring up all over Roxbury, Dorchester, and Brookline, in which the wooden skeletons were clothed with the most extravagant details into which wood could be tortured. This was believed to be the romantic style; but it was a style which, free from the restraint of

[1] [Traced partially in the view of its ruins in Vol. III. p. 457: also see p. 63 of the present volume. — Ed.]

knowledge and training on the part of the architects, had neither convenience, beauty, economy, nor durability to recommend it, and it proved ephemeral.

The next style to obtain popular favor was what was commonly known as the "French roof" style. In country houses, where for some years it retained undisputed sway, it took the form of a cubical mass covered with a steep roof violently concave, hipped on all sides, and with a flat on top nearly as large as the area of the house. The French roof, so called, had at least convenience and economy on its side, since it afforded an upper story of rooms with upright walls, and nearly as large as those below. These were strong claims, and proved for many years irresistible. The great exemplar of this style was the Deacon House, built on Washington Street, about 1850, from the designs of a French architect, M. Lemoulnier. It was a villa of the *deuxième classe*, as the French would say, built of brick and set in an ample enclosure bounded by three streets, with square entrance-lodge, stable, and other accessories, carried out in a style of great completeness. Its plan was admirable, the disposition of rooms being generous and noble, and on a scale very unusual in this country, and its exterior was marked by great simplicity and breadth. But the examples of the French roof style which for twenty years multiplied so rapidly in all the suburban towns had for the most part a very small infusion of these qualities; clumsy in mass and unpicturesque in outline, their details were generally execrable, — the facility with which pine wood can be tortured into forms of "ornament" being a temptation too strong to be often resisted.

In the city, the street architecture of Bulfinch — as seen in the banking and insurance buildings of State Street still standing, and in the dwelling-houses of Franklin Place and Colonnade Row which have now disappeared — was invariably characterized by good taste and absence of ambition which make it easy to forgive a certain timidity and tameness which were the inevitable result of the slender resources at his command. For many years after his active practice in Boston came to an end, few examples of street architecture of conspicuous size or importance were erected. Somewhere about 1840 the pleasant streets to the eastward of Washington Street, which had been occupied by the old mansions and gardens of the past generations, began to be invaded by great blocks of warehouses, — massive but uninteresting piles of Quincy granite, of which the cold monotony was unrelieved except by an order of Greekish pilasters here and there carrying a flat entablature. The greater part of these buildings were swept away by the fire of 1872, but a few of them still remain near the head of Milk Street, which serve to show what the prevailing taste was forty years ago. Toward the year 1850, however, two buildings of nearly equal frontage were built, — the Boston Museum on Tremont Street and the Boston Athenæum on Beacon Street, which may be said to be the first since the days of Bulfinch to show a hopeful growth of architectural knowledge and capacity. The Boston Museum is built of granite, with three similar stories of round

arched windows, separated by strong belt-courses and crowned by a vigorous Italian *cornicione*. The Athenæum, of brown freestone, is a more pronounced example of a Palladian palace-front, with a high basement of rusticated piers and round arches carrying an order of Corinthian pilasters, with lofty windows between, embellished with pedimented caps. Both these buildings, though widely different in style, showed the adaptability of the Italian renaissance to the conditions and uses of modern life, and its effectiveness even on the smaller scale which those conditions permit.

Those were days when few costly private buildings were erected. The profession of architecture was as yet practically unrecognized, and the handful of young men who undertook to practise it had to contend against formidable obstacles, — an entire lack of confidence on the part both of clients and of builders, the absence of illustrative examples in design and construction, the want of elementary training and the stimulus of enlightened and generous competition. These depressing conditions were, however, soon to be greatly modified. Various influences conspired to produce a rapid amelioration in the position of architects as towards the general public. Of these influences none was probably more effective than the writings of Ruskin, which, as in the case of Carlyle twenty years earlier, were perhaps more promptly appreciated in America than in England. Making all due allowance for their exaggerated moral tone, their arrogance, their partial judgments, it must yet be admitted that the extraordinary vivacity, earnestness, and force of these writings stimulated to a remarkable degree the public interest in the subjects of which they treated, and brought about a corresponding increase of artistic perception, while often leaving the reader too much in the attitude of a partisan to admit of dispassionate judgment and criticism. The introduction of photography just at this time (or rather the rapid perfecting of its processes), and the great extension of foreign travel helped forward the artistic education of architects and the artistic cultivation of great numbers of those upon whom they must depend for encouragement and support.

The change first made itself felt in the architecture of the stores and warehouses which were the first visible results of the growing mercantile prosperity of the city. These were now characterized by greater ambition and a more apparent striving for effect. The well studied volumes which had for generations furnished the easily contented architects with the correct delineations of the Greek and Roman orders were now thrust aside. Photography had brought to our hand the examples of Rome and Florence, of Venice and Verona, of Paris and London. Northern Gothic, Southern Gothic, Romanesque, Renaissance, — the happy architect could "expatiate free o'er all this scene of man," confident that an appreciative community would salute each new monument as a new triumph.

The limited space afforded by the territory of the peninsula had become by this time covered with close built streets, in the newer of which the prosaic and uninteresting type of city dwellings devised by tasteless build

ers whose idea of elegance was realized by what was commonly called the "swell-front," had been repeated with wearisome pertinacity. With the filling in of the Back Bay, which began about 1854, an opportunity was offered for breaking away from the old traditions. The new streets were occupied with considerable rapidity by a class of houses widely different for the most part from any heretofore built, and very generally under the charge of professional architects, who had now grown more numerous, and who had made good in great degree their claim to recognition and confidence. In the desire to give an aspect of luxury to the new buildings, brick, which had been until now generally used for the fronts of city dwellings, fell into disrepute, and the new houses were for the most part faced with one or another variety of freestone. The early houses of this territory were unusually ample in point of size and accommodation. As the price of lots rose with the success of the enterprise, the houses became gradually narrower, and a modification of the interior plan was the result, by which the stairs were put in the middle of the house, and a large room at either end covered the whole width. The octagonal bay-window on the front was early adopted as a feature both of convenience and beauty, and speedily became as much a matter of course as the swell-front of other days. In the style of the new houses, or in their want of style, there was the same variety to be observed, the same hunger and thirst after novelty of effect, which has been alluded to as prevailing among the newer stores and warehouses. It was much, however, that the interest of architects in their work could be seen to grow year by year more serious and intelligent, and that even while their preference for one or another style was variable, their use of all the styles grew more instructed, and their choice of motives and details more refined and chastened. It was difficult for the least mercurial designer to maintain, among the multiplicity of examples presented to him from every country and every age, and in view of the shifting tastes and practice of his fellows, the steady judgment, balance, and self-restraint which are indispensable to the production of the best work in design. Of systematic architectural teaching there was at the time of which I am speaking none whatever. The practice of a young architect was determined by the more or less of artistic knowledge and feeling in the office from which he had come forth, and by the individual predilections which resulted from accidental connections and opportunities. On the one hand, those most deeply impressed by the teachings of Ruskin strove to give to their designs the character of the Italian Gothic which Ruskin so warmly expounded. On the other hand, those whose training and associations were strongly classic contemned with vehemence the Gothic fever, and followed the lead of the French architects of the Second Empire, whose works were illustrated with great minuteness in numberless published serials and monographs. The public buildings of the city were generally of the latter style. The new City Hall finished in 1865, the Post Office commenced about the same time and not yet finished, and the Horticultural Hall, also built in 1865, are

imitations, as close as the slenderer resources would allow, of that ambitious and grandiose style, of orders superimposed and heavily loaded mansards, which reached its climax in the pavilions of the new Louvre.

To such a style, with its columns and entablatures, the granite, so much an object of local pride, was supposed to lend itself with peculiar fitness, on account of the facility with which large stones could be quarried, and the safety with which, by reason of its great strength, large openings could be spanned. But, in truth, our native gray granite, admirable for works either of engineering or of architecture in which the chief expression desired is that of massiveness and strength, is one of the least admirable for any purposes of grace or luxury. Its color forbids any agreeable play of light and shade, and its texture scarcely admits of clean-cut ornament except at great expense; and when all is done, the ornament is without effect. The most striking example of the right use of granite is the Beacon Hill Reservoir, perhaps the noblest piece of architecture in the city, absolutely adapted to its purpose and absolutely free from excess or effort or affectation, — its cyclopean masonry unvexed by details and unbroken save by the single order of round arches, of which the five on Derne Street are almost Roman in their grand depth of shadow. The Reservoir has stood but thirty-five years, and having been proved to be a useless portion of the system of water-works is now being taken down. It would probably be vain to plead for its preservation on the ground of its architectural merit; yet it is a perpetual reminder, to every thinking architect who passes beneath its walls, of that quality in which our architecture, like our national character, is most deficient, — the quality of repose. But in buildings erected for the ordinary uses of life, such repose as this is of course unattainable. The reasonableness of leaving granite without ornament, and with its wall face untooled, was, however, at length generally recognized; and in many blocks of warehouses, notably those on Commercial Street and Long Wharf, in the new Jail for Suffolk County on Charles Street, and various other less conspicuous instances, this stone was used with right judgment and excellent effect.

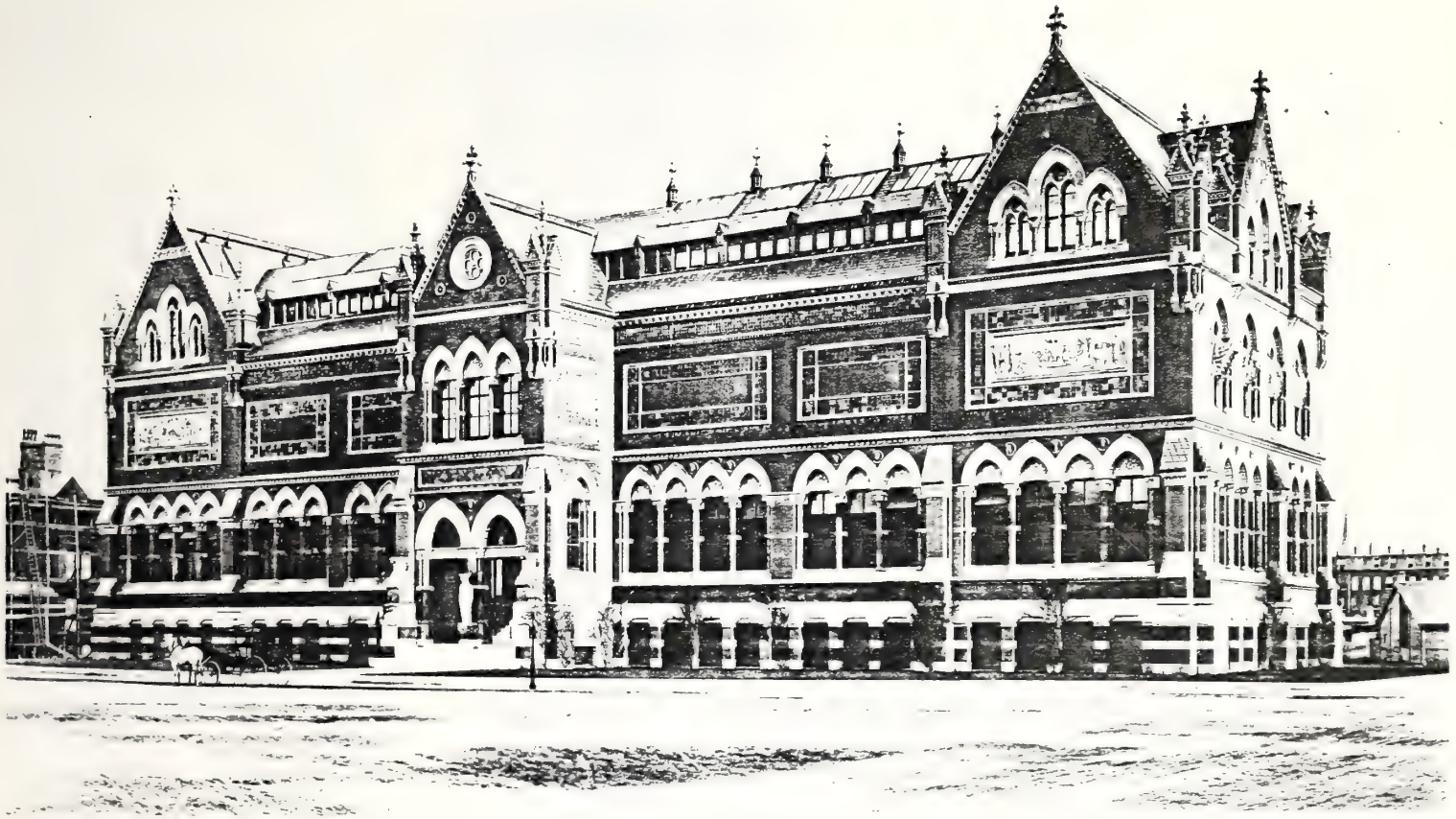
During the period when brick was considered too common for use in fine buildings, the choice of materials at the command of the architects was practically limited to the granites of Quincy, Rockport, Concord, and other New England quarries, and the brown freestones of the Connecticut Valley or New Jersey. The effect of the latter stones when used by themselves is nearly as sombre as that of granite, as may be seen in the interminable succession of shadowy streets in the upper portion of New York; but about the time when building was commenced on the new lands of the Back Bay, other stones made their appearance one after another, until the variety now within the architect's reach is quite bewildering. The white and gray marbles of Vermont and New York were followed by the light sandstones of New Brunswick and Ohio, and the red granites of the Eastern coast. Brick was again admitted to the company of presentable materials, and its

hear relation, terra-cotta, of which the use had been growing more common in England, was here experimented on now and then, but with timidity, until the building of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1872, when the experiment was tried on a large scale. This building, of which the complete design embraces four long blocks of building surrounding a quadrangle, but of which at the present time but a single block has been undertaken, is in the modern Gothic style, with much elaboration of decorative detail, and the whole of the dressings above the water-table are executed in terra-cotta from an English manufactory. The walls being of red brick, while the terra-cotta is of two colors, the result is an effective example of the capacities of this excellent material, which has now advanced so far in favor among us that there are half-a-dozen establishments engaged in its manufacture in as many different cities, and great improvement has been effected in the quality of the product.[1]

In the midst of the widely varying styles of private and public buildings the churches have, as by common consent, continued for forty years to be built in the Gothic style. A group of freestone churches was built about the years 1846–48 on Harrison Avenue, Chauncy Street, and Bedford Street, — all of which have now disappeared, and the last mentioned of which, built by a Unitarian Society from the designs of Hammatt Billings, was a graceful and effective composition whose destruction a few years since, to make room for a warehouse, was a real misfortune. Perhaps ten years later were the two churches still standing far up on Tremont Street, the one built of Roxbury rubble, with low walls and two spires; the other of brick, high shouldered, round arched, and rigid in outline, with a tall campanile on the corner, which was the first fruit, so far as Boston was concerned, of the teachings of Ruskin. Still a few years later, and the success of the Back Bay enterprise determined in that direction the movement of several of the wealthier congregations, whose churches had been successively swallowed up by the irresistible march of trade. The first society to build on the new territory was that of Federal Street. The Arlington Street Church, the successor of the first Gothic meeting-house in Boston, is the only recent exception to the prevalence of that style. It is built with general refinement of design after the manner of Wren, with a steeple such as our forefathers loved, — the exterior wholly of brown freestone, the interior cold and correct in white plaster, modelled, as we were told by the architect, as closely as possible upon the church of Sta. Annunziata at Genoa, but with such substantial differences as a pair of side galleries clogging the sides, and cutting ruthlessly across the great columns which divide the church into an apparent nave and aisles, the former covered by a barrel vault. The columns are stately, but their stateliness is at the expense of the convenience and comfort of that portion of the congregation whose seats may happen to be in the side pews.

In the Central Church, built four or five years later, on the corner of

[1] [A heliotype is given herewith of the Art Museum. — Ed.]



Heliotype Printing Company

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.

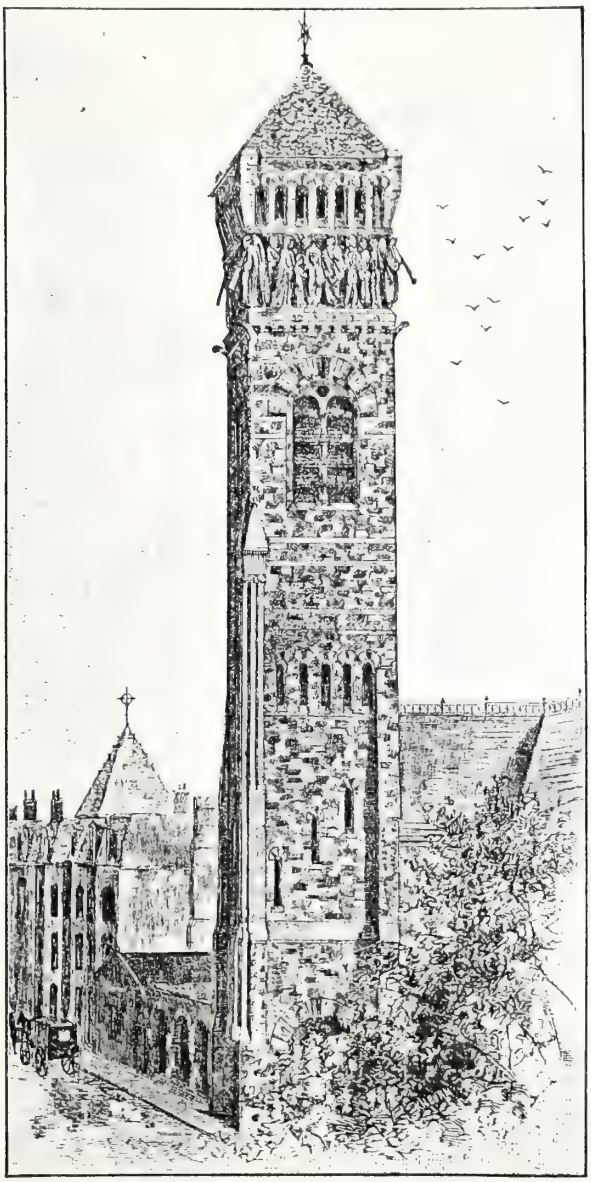
HUNTINGTON AVE. COR. DARTMOUTH STREET.

Berkeley and Newbury streets, and in the Emmanuel Church also on Newbury Street, the Gothic style is as conscientiously followed as the renaissance was in the Arlington Street, and with the same adherence to the forms of past ages, without reference to their convenience or fitness for the uses of the present. The walls of both these churches are of the Roxbury

THE FIRST CHURCH.

pudding-stone, — an admirable material, with great variety and richness of color. The exterior of the Central Church is designed with dignity and knowledge, and is ennobled by a fine and very lofty spire. The interior is high in the walls, with an open high-pitched roof; and although its plan is a rectangle, yet it is divided, by the arrangement of large piers of stone, into something like the nave, aisles, and transept of a mediæval church. Such a compromise between ambition and convenience has probably never proved quite satisfactory, since the features which are so impressive and admirable on the scale and with the resources of mediæval art are apt to lose their interest when copied on the reduced scale and with the limited resources of modern church building; while, on the other hand, they are

inevitably fatal to the one requirement of modern congregational worship, — the perfect seeing and hearing of what is done or said.



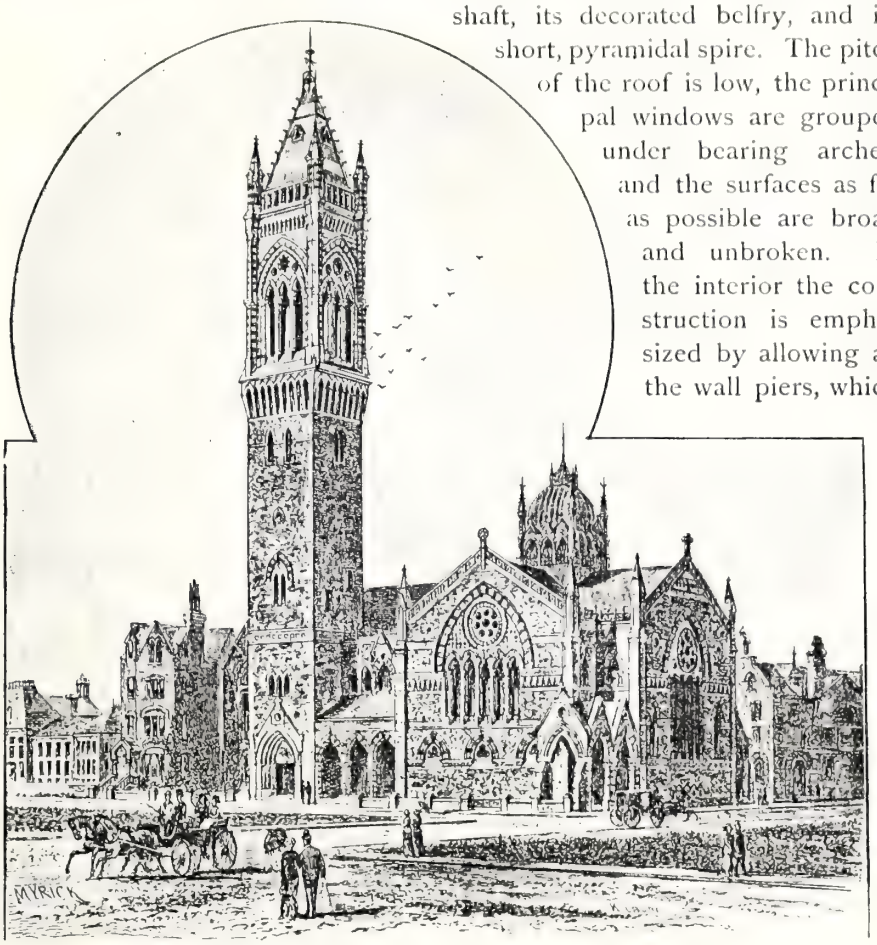
TOWER OF THE NEW BRATTLE SQUARE CHURCH.

In the First Church, on the corner of Berkeley and Marlboro' streets, built a year or two later than the Central Church, these principles were frankly recognized; and while the Gothic spirit governed every feature of the design, and expressed itself with conspicuous grace and vigor of detail both within and without, yet the treatment was made to adapt itself to the uses for which the house was built. The walls are low, the space they enclose is unobstructed by columns, and the only possible inconvenience arises from the sombreness of the interior, the windows being filled with very dark glass.

The old church in Brattle Square was sold in 1871, and a new and costly edifice was built on the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Clarendon Street, of which the somewhat clumsy body is redeemed by a square tower of remarkable beauty, with the unusual decorative feature of a band of colossal figure-sculpture girdling the tower between the belfry arches and the cornice. This church has the high walls, the low roof, and the round low arches which are characteristic features of the Southern Romanesque style. The decay of the society which built it, added to some acoustic defects which might doubtless have been overcome by persistent effort, have

prevented the use of this fine church, and it is now in danger of being destroyed.

In the new church of the Old South society, finished in 1874, the style is that of the Gothic of Northern Italy. In its high tower it was attempted to gain something of the expression of an Italian campanile with its simple shaft, its decorated belfry, and its short, pyramidal spire. The pitch of the roof is low, the principal windows are grouped under bearing arches, and the surfaces as far as possible are broad and unbroken. In the interior the construction is emphasized by allowing all the wall piers, which



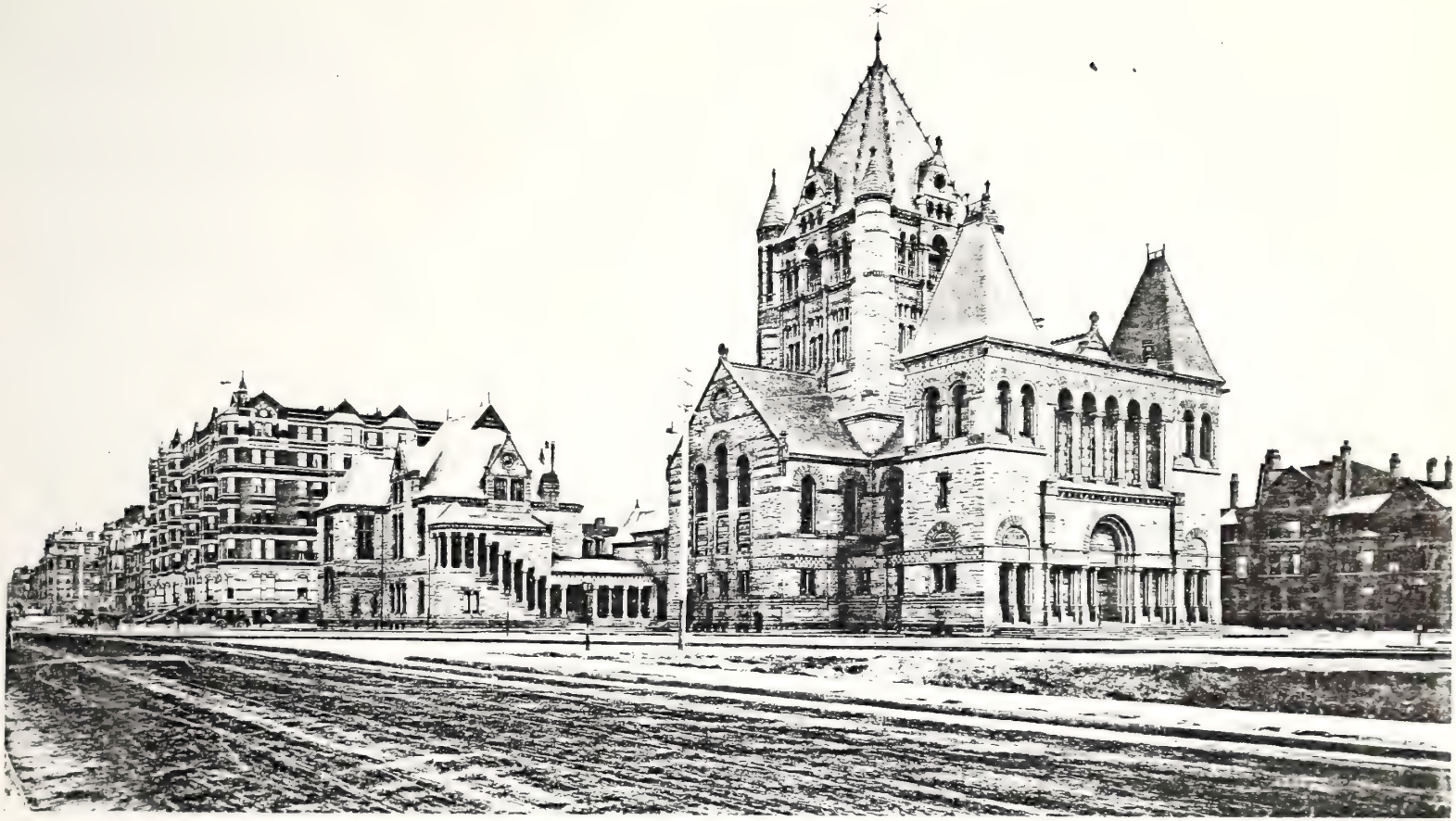
THE NEW OLD SOUTH.

carry the main trusses of the roof, to appear and make an important feature of the interior design. We touch here one of the points where both the New England climate and the New England habits of congregational worship are at odds with the traditions of European church building. As long as the churches were first of all monuments, and the services held within them were in the nature of spectacles addressed by a ruling priesthood to the eyes and ears of a crowd of ignorant worshippers, so long the splendor of the monument was everything,—the comfort of the people was of small importance. The walls, floor, and commonly the roof of the Mediæval church were therefore of stone, treated with as much richness of

material and decoration as the resources at the command of the builders would allow. In the climate of New England the warmth and general comfort of the congregation is enhanced by a carpeted floor and a plastered wall, — concessions harrowing to the ecclesiastical mind, but too strongly supported by common-sense to be generally resisted.

Trinity Church, the last and most conspicuous of the group of Back-Bay churches, occupies a more advantageous site than any other, allowing an irregular and picturesque disposition of the accessory chapel and cloisters. This building, a vigorous and striking example of the round-arched architecture of the south of France, — not without a strong trace of Spanish influence, — is extremely interesting in many ways, but notably so from its grand central tower, at once the most massive and the most ornate architectural feature in the city, but which, being on a scale suitable only to a cathedral, dwarfs every other feature of the composition; and not less notably from its elaborate system of interior decoration, — a system devised upon a scale hitherto unattempted in this country, and carried out with gratifying completeness and success.

I have found it impossible within the limits of a chapter to present more than an imperfect view of what has been accomplished thus far in Boston in the line of architectural design. Enough has perhaps been said to show — what indeed an hour's walk through the city streets would exhibit much more impressively — the extraordinary change which has taken place even within the last twenty years in the public and private architecture. In the position and standing of the architects themselves, the change has been not less marked. The resources of the profession on the side of education and training are now ample. A school of architecture has been for some dozen years maintained by the Institute of Technology, under the direction of Professor William R. Ware, in which the course of instruction, modelled as far as practicable upon that of the École des Beaux Arts, at Paris, has steadily and strongly furthered the growth of a severe taste in design, and has supplied the architects in active practice with a body of assistants well grounded in the principles of design, and with eye and hand trained to the appreciative use of the opportunities of office life. From such promising material are the ranks of architecture, year by year, recruited. Among so many active and well furnished minds, quickened by the stimulus of a generous emulation, broadened and cultivated by foreign travel, supplied with abundant and fresh information of every architectural achievement at home and abroad, through the constant multiplication of photographs and building journals, — one may hope, not unreasonably, that the future architecture of Boston is in safe hands.



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TRINITY CHURCH,

AND

[illegible]

BOYLSTON, CLARENDON AND NEWBURY STREETS.

CHAPTER IX.

BOSTON AND SCIENCE.

BY JOSEPH LOVERING, LL.D.,

Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard University.

MANY of the first settlers of Boston brought with them the science and culture of the Old World. But what was that science? Kepler indeed had announced his three laws, and died in the year in which Boston was founded. Galileo had made his discoveries and was ready to die. Bacon's great work had been published only ten years. Pascal and Torricelli had not recognized and measured the weight of the atmosphere. The air-pump had not been invented. Newton was not born, and his discoveries in astronomy and optics were not even in embryo. The scientific societies and academies of England, France, and Italy were not incorporated. The foundations had not been laid for the observatories of Greenwich and Paris. The true shape of the earth was not suspected. The sciences of electricity, magnetism, heat, and chemistry were in a distant future.

To show the condition of science in the earlier days, we give brief sketches of those engaged in the study of it: —

John Winthrop, son of the first governor of Massachusetts, was born in England in 1606; came to this country in 1633 and settled in Ipswich. His later history belongs to Connecticut, where he was governor in 1657, and from 1659 to 1676. On a visit to Boston in 1676 he was taken sick and died here. He was buried in the same tomb with his father, in the grounds of King's Chapel. He was skilled in chemistry and physics, such as they were then, and had the reputation of being one of the greatest natural philosophers of his age, — the equal of Boyle, Wilkins, or Oldenburg. He often revisited England, and maintained a correspondence with the chief scientific men of Europe. Had it not been for the concessions of Charles II., the best scientific men of England would have joined Winthrop and established here a "society for promoting natural knowledge." As it was, Winthrop was an early member of the Royal Society of London, which began its meetings in 1645 under the patronage of the king.[1] He was its official correspondent in the West, supplying it with specimens of the productions of this country, and descriptions of them. — His son, Fitz John Winthrop, was born at Ipswich in 1638, and died in Boston in 1707. Although constantly occupied with public trusts (being governor of Connecticut from

[1] [See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1878. — Ed.]

1698 to 1707), he was accomplished in natural science and a member of the Royal Society.

John Josselyn made two voyages to New England, in 1638 and 1663; and was here in all about nine years. He published in 1674 an account of these voyages, which includes notices of the natural history of the country, dedicated to the President and Fellows of the Royal Society of London. In 1672 he published a book called *New England Rarities Discovered: in Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, and Plants of that Country*. He gives the latitude of Boston as 42° 30′; and the longitude as 315°. His books contain a curious medley of science and nonsense.[1]

The Rev. John Sherman was born in Dedham, England, in 1613. He was educated at old Cambridge, and emigrated to this country in 1634. For the last thirty years of his life he was settled over the church at Watertown, where he died in 1685. He was twice married, and had twenty-six children. Dr. Mather[2] regarded him as "one of the greatest mathematicians that ever lived in this hemisphere of the world." The character of his astronomical calculations, of which he left many in manuscript, may be inferred from the fact that he published almanacs for several years (1650–61), to which were added pious reflections.

Charles Morton was born in England in 1626, and came to this country in 1685. He was settled as minister in Charlestown from 1686 to his death in 1698.[3] He served Harvard College as a Fellow of the Corporation and Vice-President. He was eminent in mathematics, and his *Compendium Physicæ*, though existing only in manuscript, was copied by the students and studied. He brought with him the reputation of being a gifted teacher, and excited the jealousy of Harvard College by drawing private pupils to Charlestown. He was a contributor in 1675 to the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London.

The Rev. Urian Oakes (1631–81) came with his parents to New England in 1634; graduated at Harvard College in 1649; was settled in Cambridge in 1671, and combined with his pastoral duties those of president from 1675 to 1681. In 1650 he calculated and published an almanac with the motto: "Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua gratia parva;"[4] being, as Cotton Mather says, "a lad of *small*, as he never was of *great*, stature."

The Rev. Samuel Danforth, the third minister of Roxbury, was born in England in 1626; came to New England in 1634; graduated at Harvard College in 1643; was ordained in 1650; and died in 1674. He incorporated into the records of his church observations on the weather and prevalent diseases of different years and seasons, on violent storms of snow and rain, and on earthquakes and meteors. "Several of his astronomical composures," says Dr. Mather, "have seen the light of the sun." He published almanacs for the years 1646–49; in 1665, *Astronomical Description of the Comet of* 1664, *with brief theological applications thereof;* and in the church records he has left various memoranda.[5]

[1] [See Vol. I. p. 19. — Ed.]

[2] *Magnalia*, i. 462.

[3] [See Vol. II. 315. — Ed.]

[4] *Magnalia*, i. 97–8.

[5] "Anno 1652, 9th day, 10th month. There appeared a comet in y^e^ heaven in Orion, which continued its course tow^d^ of zenith f^r^ y^e^ space of a fortnight, viz., till Mr. Cotton's death."

"1664, Nov. 17. About this time there appeared a comet in y^e^ heavens. Y^e^ first time I saw it, w^ch^ was y^e^ 5th of 10th m, it appeared a little below the Crow's bill in Hydra, in y^e^ Tropick of Capricorn or v^y^ near to it. On y^e^ 18th day it appeared in Canis major, 2 degrees below y^e^ Tropick. On y^e^ 19th day I observed it to passe o^t^v y^e^ upper star in y^e^ Hare's foot, about 2 degrees and ½ above y^e^ Tropick. It continued till Feb. 4."

The following epitaph[1] commemorates his science : —

Non dubium, quin eó iverit, quo stellæ eunt
Danforthus, qui stellis semper se associavit.

Increase Mather was born in Dorchester in 1639; graduated at Harvard College in 1656. He preached in the North Church, Boston, from 1661 to his death in 1723; and acted as president of Harvard College from 1685 to 1701. Of his voluminous publications only two have a place here, — namely, the *Cometographia*, and *Heaven's Alarm to the World*. These appeared on occasion of the blazing up of Newton's comet of 1680, and Halley's comet of 1682. The author had studied the literature of the subject; but he sees in comets nothing but tokens of the displeasure of Heaven. The connection is easily proved; as comets and calamities are both so frequent that there will always be a calamity for every comet, and a comet for every calamity.

Thomas Brattle was born in Boston in 1657, and graduated at Harvard College in 1676. He was chosen treasurer of the college in 1693, and held the office until he died in 1713. He was an eminent and generous merchant of Boston, with a taste for science, to which he devoted his leisure. He observed with a telescope the times of the beginning and end of the solar eclipse of June 12, 1694, when ten and a half digits were covered by the moon. A comparison of his observations with those made in London placed Boston in the longitude of $4^h\ 43^m$, or $70°\ 45'$ west of London. In the calculations required for this determination the latitude of Boston was assumed to be $42°\ 25'$; and this was the received latitude until about 1785. When or by whom it was obtained is not known; possibly by Mr. Brattle himself. Another eclipse of the sun was observed by him on Nov. 27, 1703; also two lunar eclipses, — one on Feb. 11, 1700, the other on Dec. 12, 1703.[2] Science is also indebted to him for the earliest precise observation known to have been made on the variation of the magnetic needle, which he found to be, in 1708, about 9° west of north. This observation proves that the needle, which in 1782 varied less than 7° from the true north, but which since that time has been moving westward until now it is more than 9° west of north, has returned to the position which it held about two hundred years before; and, therefore, that the changes are periodical. Mr. Brattle's name is perpetuated in one of the streets and churches [?] of Boston.[3]

Paul Dudley was born at Roxbury in 1673; graduated at Harvard College in 1690; and died in 1751. He was raised to the Supreme Bench in 1718, and was afterwards chief-justice. He was a member of the Royal Society of London, and published papers on the natural history of New England; also on the weather and the great earthquake of Oct. 29, 1727.[4]

Tulley published at Cambridge an almanac for the years 1691–93.

John Winthrop, great-grandson of the first governor, and great-grandfather of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, graduated at Harvard College in 1700. He spent the last part of his life in England, where he died in 1747. He became a conspicuous member of the Royal Society, to which he presented six hundred specimens,[5]

"1664, March 11. Another comet appeared in y^e^ East in y^e^ constellation of Antinous."

[1] *Magnalia*, i. p. 52. [See also Vol. I. pp. 408, 416. — Ed.]

[2] *Philosophical Transactions* (1704), vol. xxiv. p. 1630.

[3] [See Vol. I. p. 580. — Ed.]

[4] *Philosophical Transactions*, 1720–21, and No. 437; also vol. xl. p. 160. [See Vol. II. p. 351. — Ed.]

[5] For a description of them see *American Journal*, vol. xlvii. p. 282 (1844).

chiefly in the mineral kingdom, collected in this country, accompanied by descriptions, — "thereby showing your great skill in natural philosophy, and, at the same time, intimating to England the vast riches which lie hidden in the lap of her principal daughter." These words were used by Dr. Mortimer in dedicating to Winthrop the fortieth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*, who also says: "The extraordinary knowledge you have in the deep mysteries of the most secret *Hermetic Science* will always make you esteemed and courted by good men." The library of Harvard College contains a copy of this volume, presented by "their very affectionate and most obedient humble servant, J. Winthrop."

Dr. Zabdiel Boylston came to this country and settled in 1635. His son, of the same name, was born in 1680; studied medicine with his father, and became an eminent physician in Boston. He is famous for having introduced into the country inoculation at the risk of his reputation and his life. He was led by his father to the study of natural history; and collected the animals, insects, and plants of the New World and sent them to his correspondents in Europe. He and his father were members of the Royal Society of London. He died in 1766.[1]

The Rev. Thomas Prince was born in Sandwich in 1687, and graduated at Harvard College in 1707. From 1709 to 1717 he preached in England. He was ordained pastor of the Old South Church in 1718, where he remained until he died in 1758. His learning was extensive,[2] but in science, at least, not profound. He published an account of the first aurora borealis seen in Boston.

Edward Holyoke was born in Boston in 1689. After graduating at Harvard College in 1705, he was librarian (1709–12), tutor (1712–16), and president from 1737 to the time of his death in 1769. In 1716 he was settled over a church in Marblehead. He was distinguished for his knowledge of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Nathan Prince, brother of Thomas, was born in Sandwich in 1698, and graduated in 1718. He had the reputation of superior genius. In mathematics and natural philosophy he was said to have no equal in New England; but nothing remains to sustain this high reputation. He died in 1748, in Ruatan, in the Bay of Honduras.

Thomas Robie was born in Boston in 1689, and graduated at Harvard College in 1708. He was tutor, librarian, and Fellow of the college, and died in 1729. He published an account of a remarkable eclipse of the sun on Nov. 27, 1722; also, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, papers on the Alkaline Salts and the Venom of the Spider (1720–24). The following extract from the diary of President Leverett shows the estimation in which he was held: "It ought to be remembered that Mr. Robie was no small honor to Harvard College by his mathematical performances, and by his correspondence thereupon with Mr. Durham and other learned persons in those studies abroad."

In continuing this history it will be instructive to arrange the materials under a few general heads, — I. Mathematics and Astronomy. II. Physics and Chemistry. III. Natural History.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 557; and Dr. Green's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. pp. 221, 426; and the chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — Ed.]

I. Mathematics and Astronomy. — Some personal sketches follow: —

Thomas Clap was born in Scituate in 1703, and graduated at Harvard College in 1722. In 1726 he was ordained pastor of the church at Windsor, Conn. He was president of Yale College from 1740 to 1766, and died in 1767. President Stiles says that he studied mathematics in the higher branches, and was one of the first philosophers America had produced; "that he was equalled by no man except the most learned Professor Winthrop." He published *Conjectures upon the Nature and Motion of Meteors which are above the Atmosphere;* and constructed in 1743 the first orrery made in this country. This orrery, which was placed in the library of the College, represented on a large scale the orbits of the planets at their proper relative distances, with their inclination, eccentricity, and perihelia; also their satellites, and part of the orbit of Halley's comet, which was expected to return in a few years. There was no system of wheels for moving the parts, but the bodies were put by the hand in their appropriate places for any given time.[1]

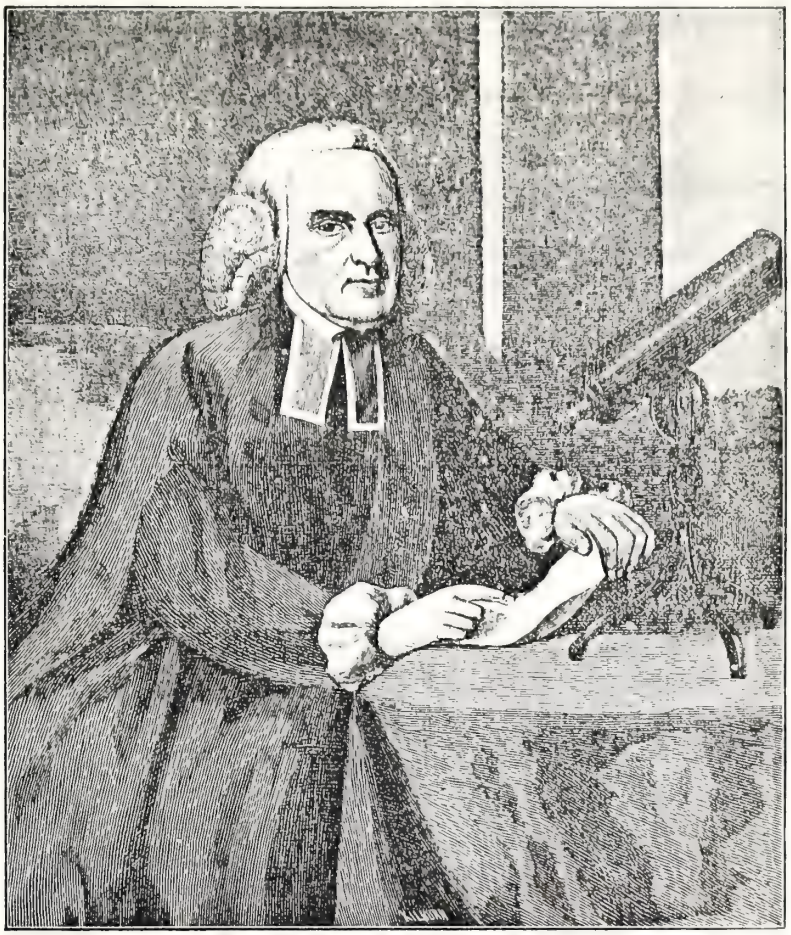
John Winthrop was born in Boston, Dec. 19, 1714; graduated at Cambridge in 1732; and was Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy from 1738 to his death, May 3, 1779. He was as zealous in the advancement of science as he was gifted in teaching. In mathematics and astronomy he had no equal in America, and his reputation was great in England and France. He received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh, and was a member of the Royal Society of London. At home he was a member of the Governor's Council, as his father and grandfather had been before him. In the Revolution he was a stanch Patriot, and in company with Dexter and Bowdoin he was honored by the marked disapproval of the English Government. His learning and accomplishments, outside of his profession, elicited the admiration of Dr. Chauncy and President Stiles. Professor Winthrop was fortunate in living at a time when he could be a witness of three celestial occurrences of transcendent importance to the progress of astronomy; namely, the first predicted return of Halley's comet in 1759, after an absence of seventy-seven years, and the transits of Venus across the sun in 1761 and 1769. In 1759 the accuracy of astronomical prediction was on its trial, and, months before the time of the expected visit, astronomers were at their posts and looking; but they were all anticipated by a Saxon peasant who saw first the comet on Dec. 25, 1758. Winthrop saw it on April 3, 1759. This was the occasion of his two lectures on Comets, read in the College chapel and printed in 1759, and reprinted in 1811. These lectures are a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. In 1766 he wrote an essay in Latin on Comets, which was communicated by Dr. Franklin to the Royal Society,[2] and printed in London. He observed the comets of 1769 and 1770, — one remarkable for its brilliancy and the other for the disturbances which Jupiter inflicted upon its orbit, — and published an account of them in the Boston papers. Professor Winthrop's views of the nature of heat were greatly in advance of the science of his day.

In 1740 Professor Winthrop had observed a transit of Mercury over the sun. His observations were printed in London,[3] and mentioned with favor in the *Memoirs* of the French Academy. These transits were valuable in correcting the orbit of Mercury, but they were not of vital significance for the measurement of the solar system. In

[1] *American Magazine*, i. 202. See concerning Rittenhouse's orrery, p. 500.

[2] Vol. lvii. p. 132.

[3] *Transactions of the Royal Society*,, vol. xlii.



John Winthrop [1]

Cambridge
10 Decr 1763.

1761, and still better in 1769, opportunities were presented for doing a great work in astronomy, — opportunities which would not be repeated until 1874 and 1882, and which will not occur at all in the next century. Cambridge was fortunate in having a

[1] [This engraving follows a photograph kindly furnished by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., who has inscribed on the back of it: "Hon. John Winthrop, LL.D., F.R.S., for forty years professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard, member of the Executive Council of Mass., author of various astronomical treatises; a well known Revolutionary Patriot. Born, Dec. 19, 1714; died, May 3, 1779. He was also for some time Judge of Probate, librarian of Harvard College, and one of the founders of the American Academy. He married, first, Rebecca, daughter of James Townsend and step-daughter of Rev. Charles Chauncy; and, second, Hannah,

man able and disposed to participate in an important scientific enterprise, the ultimate success of which depended upon the consenting efforts of many astronomers. The following extracts from the votes of the House of Representatives will show the interest inspired by his own enthusiasm.

On April 18, 1761, the Governor sent the following message: —

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, — I have received a Letter from Professor Winthrop, wherein he offers his Service to go to Newfoundland to observe the Transit of Venus over the Sun on the Sixth Day of June next. You must know that this Phenomenon (which has been observed but once before since the Creation of the World) will, in all Probability, settle some Questions in Astronomy which may ultimately be very serviceable to Navigation. For which purpose those Powers that are interested in Navigation have thought it their business to send Mathematicians to different parts of the World to make Observations. And as the Comparisons of the Observations in the different Parts of the Earth will be the principal Means of making the Discoveries useful, His Majesty has sent a Man-of-War, with Mathematicians to be stationed in different Parts of the East Indies, etc., and the French King and some other Powers have done the same. It happens that this Phenomenon is not to be seen in North America except the most Northern Parts, of which Newfoundland exhibits the best view; I cannot, therefore, excuse myself recommending to you to enable Mr. Winthrop to take a view from thence. The best and least expensive Method I can think of is this: that the Province Sloop, which a little before that Time will be obliged to be sent to Penobscot, may proceed from thence with the Professor to Newfoundland.

If you will signify your Approbation of this, I will order it; and I can assure you that we shall hereby serve the Cause of Science, and do credit to the Province.

FRA. BERNARD.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, April 17, 1761.

On Monday, April 20, it was voted—

"That his Excellency the Governor be humbly requested to direct Captain Saunders, Master of the Sloop in the Province Service, to wait on John Winthrop, Esq^r, Hollisian Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy at the College in Cambridge, and him in said sloop to attend and convey, with the Apparatus and other Necessaries, to the Northeast Part of Newfoundland, or to such Places as the Professor shall judge proper; and when his Observations are compleated, and Mr. Winthrop shall direct it, that Captain Saunders attend on and convey Mr. Winthrop back to Boston."

Professor Winthrop embarked from Boston on May 9, taking with him the College instruments and two members of the Senior class; and after a passage of thirteen days arrived at St. Johns. He says: "The reception I met with there was suitable to the consequence of my Commission and the dignity of my Employers." After some fatiguing and fruitless attempts, a convenient locality was selected on a commanding eminence, which was afterwards christened Venus Hill. Swarms of relentless insects had possession of the hill, and annoyed the new comers by day and night; but in spite of them the clock and other instruments were put in working order. "Thus prepared we waited for the critical hour, which proved favorable to our wishes." The transit had begun before sunrise in any part of America, except Labrador; but on June 6 the sun rose at St. Johns at $4^h\ 18^m$, and with Venus upon its disc, where the planet remained until $5^h\ 6^m$. On his return Mr. Winthrop published an account of his voyage and his observations.

daughter of Thomas Fayerweather and widow of Parr Tolman. The latter was the well known correspondent of Mrs. John Adams. Photographed in 1878 from the original portrait by Copley, belonging to Professor Winthrop's great-grandson, Colonel John Winthrop of Louisiana, and now at Newport. This portrait was formerly loaned to Harvard College and hung in Harvard Hall. It is in very bad order." See also Perkins's *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 124, —a book which the Editor has found of constant service. — ED.]

In anticipation of the transit of June 3, 1769, Professor Winthrop read two lectures in the College chapel, which were published with this motto: *Agite mortales! et oculos in Spectaculum vertite, quod hujusque spectaverunt perpaucissimi, spectaturi iterum sunt nulli.* It was the wish of the astronomer, Dr. Maskeline, that Mr. Winthrop should go to Lake Superior, where the beginning and end of this transit would be visible; but his health prevented him, and he was obliged to content himself with seeing no more than other astronomers in the American Colonies, — namely, the beginning of the transit; as the sun set before the transit was over. Professor Winthrop also observed the transit of Mercury on Jan. 20, 1763.[1]

James Bowdoin was born in Boston in 1727, graduated at Harvard College in 1745, and died in 1790.[2] Inheriting a large fortune, he was able to devote himself to public affairs, in which he took always a conspicuous part before and after the Revolution. He was president of the convention which formed the State government, and was governor in 1785 and 1786; but he is here to be commemorated as a princely patron and cultivator of science. Before Harvard Hall was burned in 1764 he had given largely to the philosophical apparatus; and after the fire he contributed more than any one else to repair the loss. He was the first president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (incorporated May 4, 1780), and delivered a public inaugural address, November 8, on the Benefits of Science. This address is a running commentary on the following clause of the Act of Incorporation: —

"*And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the end and design of the institution of the said Academy is to promote and encourage the knowledge of the antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses to which the various natural productions of the country may be applied; to promote and encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical enquiries and experiments, — astronomical, meteorological, and geographical observations, and improvements in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and, in fine, to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and virtuous people."

The address closed with a prophetic vision of what some American Livy or Thucydides might say when the Academy was a century old.

Mr. Bowdoin corresponded with Dr. Franklin, and the letters have been published. He also printed three memoirs on the Theory of Light.[3] Dr. Franklin had criticised the corpuscular theory of light,[4] which the authority of Newton's great name had brought into universal acceptance, and suggested a theory of undulations similar to that which at the present day has no competitor. Franklin probably did not know that Hooke and Huyghens, a century earlier, had held the same view, and carried it to finer issues. Mr. Bowdoin attempted to answer Franklin's objections to the Newtonian doctrine of light; and finally launches forth into speculations which had but little support in fact, as may be inferred from the subject of his third memoir, which was: *Observations tending to prove, by Phenomena and Scripture, the Existence of an Orb which surrounds the whole visible material System; and which may be necessary to preserve it from the Ruin to which, without such a Counterbalance, it seems liable by that universal Principle in Matter, — Gravitation.* At this time the elder Herschel was indulging in bold speculations concerning the construction of the heavens, but his speculations were ballasted by the weighty observations furnished by his gigantic

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 57.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 268. See his portrait in Vol. III. p. 195. — Ed.]

[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 187–233.

[4] *Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects*, p. 264 (1769).

telescope. Bowdoin bequeathed his library to the Academy, and also one hundred pounds in money.

Andrew Oliver was born in Boston in 1731, and graduated at Harvard College in 1749. After his marriage he removed to Salem, where he was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas before the Revolution, and where he died in 1799. He had a taste for mathematics and natural philosophy. He wrote an *Essay on Comets*, which was published in 1772, and again in 1811. It was translated into French at Paris, and the eminent but ill-fated historian of astronomy Bailly refers in favorable terms to Mr. Oliver's arguments and conjectures in relation to the tails of comets. Mr. Oliver's application of Franklin's electrical repulsion to the case suggested to Bailly a resemblance between his views and those of Buffon in regard to heat and light, and he concludes his analysis of the essay with these words: "Tout cet ouvrage est infinitement ingénieux; le systême est très-vraisemble: et peutetre l'application de la force répulsive et des phénomènes électriques aux phénomènes de la queue des cometes merite-t-elle un autre nom." Many years afterward De Luc[1] produced views upon the constitution and use of comets closely resembling those of the *Essay*. Mr. Oliver also published two other papers,[2]—one on Thunder-storms, and the other on Water-spouts. He was a member of the American Academy and of the Philosophical Society.[3]

Edward Wigglesworth was born in 1732, graduated at Harvard College in 1749, and was Hollis Professor of Theology from 1765 to his death in 1794; retiring, however, from active service in 1791. He manifested considerable interest in science, observing the total eclipse of the sun Oct. 27, 1780. He published in 1775 calculations on American population; and, in 1791, tables showing the probable duration and expectation of life in Massachusetts, etc.[4]

Joseph Willard was born in Biddeford, Maine, in 1738, and graduated at Harvard College in 1765; where he was tutor from 1766 to 1772, and president from 1781 to his death in 1804. Between 1772 and 1781 he was pastor of a church in Beverly. At school he manifested a taste for arithmetic and navigation, and at college for mathematics. The duties of a minister or a president are engrossing; but Mr. Willard found, or made, time to gratify his scientific taste, especially for astronomy.[5] At Beverly he observed the solar eclipse of Oct. 27, 1780; at the president's house in Cambridge, the lunar eclipse of March 29, 1782, the solar eclipse of April 12, 1782, and the transits of Mercury of Nov. 12, 1782, and Nov. 5, 1789. President Willard also cultivated mathematical astronomy. He constructed tables for facilitating computations, and himself computed the longitude of Cambridge from Greenwich and Paris by a comparison of the observations made in Europe and in this vicinity on the solar eclipses of Aug. 5, 1776, and June 24, 1778; and on the transit of Mercury of Nov. 5, 1743, and the transit of Venus of June 3, 1769. His result for the distance of Harvard Hall west of Greenwich (namely, $4^h\ 44^m\ 31^s$) was probably as exact as that for any two places on the earth at that time, if determined without the aid of geodesy. There is evidence that Dr. Bowditch, whose standard of excellence was high, placed President Willard among the few good mathematicians of New England.[6]—The Rev. Manasseh Cutler was settled within eight miles of Beverly, and observed with Mr.

[1] *Journal de Physique*, 1802.

[2] *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, ii. 1786.

[3] [See Vol. III. Index, for various references to his family connections. — Ed.]

[4] [See the chapter on "Insurance" in this volume. — Ed.]

[5] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, vols. i. and ii.

[6] Sidney Willard's *Memories, etc.*, i. 93.

Willard the solar eclipse of Oct. 27, 1780. He also observed at Ipswich the transit of Mercury, Nov. 12, 1782; an eclipse of the moon, March 29, 1782; and an eclipse of the sun, April 12, 1782.[1]

Phillips Payson was born in Walpole in 1736, graduated at Harvard College in 1754, and was ordained minister at Chelsea in 1757, where he continued to preach until his death in 1801.[2] He had a zeal for science, especially mathematics and natural philosophy. In a communication to the Academy, of which he was a member, he says:[3] —

"The extensive territories of the United States of America are a foundation in nature of a vast empire. The geography of its interior parts, though of great importance, is at present but little better than conjectural; to perfect which, and fix the interesting boundaries and lines, the best and indeed the only proper method is that of astronomical observations, which it is probable the Supreme Council of America will soon adopt, now the glorious revolution is so happily completed. To promote such observations, both at noted headlands upon the sea-coast and at distant places in the interior country, highly merits the attention of this Academy. For though they should not at first be made with such accuracy as modern astronomy can boast of, they will prove great helps for future improvements."

As his contribution to this end, he observed many eclipses of Jupiter's satellites in 1779; the solar eclipses of June 24, 1778, of Oct. 27, 1788, and of April 12, 1782; the lunar eclipses of May 29, 1779, and of Nov. 11, 1780; also the transit of Mercury, on Nov. 12, 1782. From his observations he calculates the latitude and longitude of Chelsea.

Daniel Treadwell, who is described as an "eminent mathematician," was born at Portsmouth, N.H., and graduated at Harvard College in 1754. In the same year he was elected professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in King's College (now Columbia College), New York; but consumption put an end to his career in 1760, when he was only twenty-six years old.

John Hancock, who graduated at Harvard College in 1754, who put his name to the Declaration of Independence and was afterward governor, deserves to be mentioned as a liberal patron of science, giving five hundred pounds to replace the library and philosophical apparatus of Harvard College, in fulfilment of a purpose which his uncle had failed to express in his will.

Samuel Williams was born in Waltham in 1743, and graduated at Harvard College in 1761. He was settled over a church in Bradford in 1765, where he remained until 1780. Scientific tastes were early developed in him, for he was one of the two members of the Senior class selected by Professor Winthrop to assist him in the observations of the transit of Venus in 1761, because they had made "good proficiency in mathematical studies." Mr. Williams observed the lunar eclipses of Nov. 12, 1761, and March 17, 1764, both at Waltham. While at Bradford he observed the lunar eclipses of April 6, 1773, July 30, 1776, Dec. 3, 1778, and May 29, 1779; and on the last night an eclipse of Jupiter's second satellite. He also observed the solar eclipse of June 24, 1778, which was almost total in New England, and wholly so in some of the Southern States.[4] The Rev. Samuel Williams succeeded Mr. Winthrop in the professorship of mathematical and physical science in 1780, having already manifested great zeal in the study of astronomy.[5]

[1] *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*, iv. 272.
[2] [See Vol. II. p. 379, Ed.]
[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 124.
[4] Ibid., 81.
[5] Although eclipses of the sun are more frequent than those of the moon, a total eclipse of the sun is visible only within an area of about one hundred and seventy miles in diameter, and

Caleb Gannett was born in Bridgewater in 1745, and graduated at Harvard College in 1763. From 1767 to 1771 he preached in Nova Scotia, and then for two years in New England. He was tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy between 1773 and 1780, and bursar from 1779 to his death in 1818, taking a great interest in astronomy and meteorology, and co-operating in observations of the eclipse of the sun Oct. 27, 1780. After Professor Winthrop's death Mr. Gannett gave his lectures for one year. As an executive officer he was a model.[1]

The scientific attainments of Theophilus Parsons would have saved his name from oblivion, though they were only a part of his universal accomplishments, and were overshadowed by his great reputation as a lawyer and judge. He was born in Byfield in 1750; graduated in 1769; practised law, at first in Falmouth, and in Byfield and Newburyport after 1775; removed to Boston in 1800, where he died in 1813. He was chief-justice from 1806 to the time of his death. Master Moody, principal of Dummer Academy, liked to boast of his brilliant pupils, — such as Willard, Webber,

the favored spot is as likely to be in a savage country or in mid-ocean as along the great highway of civilization. Nowadays, when a total eclipse will not come to the astronomer the astronomer pursues it even to the ends of the earth. Only two total eclipses of the sun have been visible in the United States during the present century; namely, those of 1806 and 1869, — the first visible in Boston about high noon on a June day, to the astonishment of the whole animal creation; the second seen in the Western States. When calculations indicated that a total eclipse of the sun might possibly occur on Oct. 27, 1780, in the eastern part of this State (now Maine), the University at Cambridge and the American Academy desired that it should be properly observed. What efforts were made to secure this end will appear from the following extract: —

Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay, Sept. 12, 1780, p. 65.

Whereas, representations have been made to this Court by the Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq. and others, lovers of learning and mankind, that on the 27th of October next there will happen in the neighbourhood of Penobscot a central and total eclipse of the sun, a phenomenon never apparent in these States since their settlement, and as observations thereon may be of much consequence in science, particularly in geography and navigation; and that the Rev. Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, in this State, will be ready to give his aid, with such assistance as may be proper, to make the necessary observations at the most convenient place near Penobscot; therefore —

"*Resolved*, That the Board [of war] be, and they are hereby, ordered and directed to fit out the State galley with proper stores and accommodations for the conveyance of the Rev. Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and such attendance as he may think proper to take with him, to make the aforesaid observations on the central and total eclipse of the sun, which will happen on the said 27 day of October at or near Penobscot, and that the Council be, and they are hereby, requested to write proper letters to the British commander of the garrison at Penobscot, that the important designs of the said observations may not be frustrated."

This prompt action by the Government, at a period when the people were burdened with the anxieties and expenses of a protracted war, manifests an appreciation of the utility and nobility of science which has not been surpassed, if it has been equalled, in the times of its greatest prosperity.

On October 9 Professor Williams embarked on the "Lincoln" galley with Professor Sewall, James Winthrop, the librarian, one graduate, and six students, taking with him the necessary instruments from the College. The party arrived on the seventeenth, and remained as long as they were permitted; namely, to the twenty-eighth. Though somewhat embarrassed by military orders, they placed their instruments on Long Island, in Penobscot Bay, and took their observations. The eclipse just failed of absolute totality. The error was in the old maps. A fine thread of light, broken into drops, remained on one side of the sun. Venus, Jupiter, and the bright stars showed themselves. During one hour and nineteen minutes, while the eclipse was progressing, two thirds as much dew was deposited as on the whole of the preceding or following night. At Cambridge, Professor Williams observed the lunar eclipses of Nov. 11, 1780, March 28, 1782, Sept. 10, 1783; and the solar eclipse of April 12, 1782; many eclipses of Jupiter's satellites in 1782; and the transit of Mercury on Nov. 12, 1782. He observed, at Newbury, the transit of Venus in 1769. Professor Williams also made special observations to ascertain the latitude of Harvard Hall, which he put down in 1785 as 42° 23′ 28.46″. He retired from his office in 1788, and passed the remainder of his life in Rutland, Vt., where he died in 1817. At this place he observed the solar eclipse of June 10, 1806; but it was not total at that place.

[1] *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xviii. 277.

Parsons, etc., — and, himself a bachelor, to call them his children. While in college young Parsons calculated the total eclipse of the sun in 1806. As the time of the event drew near, he was nervous from fear of losing it; but he observed it from the top of his house, with a telescope furnished by Dr. Prince. In 1786[1] he contributed a paper on the method of calculating the azimuth of a telescope by observations on the pole-star at its upper and lower culminations. His favorite science to the end of his life was mathematics; and geometry rather than the calculus. He made models to illustrate the conic sections. Dr. Bowditch,[2] in describing the advantages of his own method of working a lunar observation, says: "These improvements were made in consequence of a suggestion of the late Chief-Justice Parsons (a gentleman eminently distinguished by his mathematical acquirements), who had somewhat simplified Witchell's process." In 1847 the astronomer Airy made a still further extension of the idea which Mr. Parsons had entertained in 1807. Two of Mr. Parsons's mathematical papers were published by his son in 1859, — one on the roots of affected equations, and the other on parallel lines, on which he was busy during the summer before he died. His house was supplied with a variety of physical apparatus, magnets, microscopes, and electrical machines, with which he and his friend Dr. Prince delighted in experimenting. He imported Rumford's cooking apparatus, and experimented upon it in his own kitchen. The chief-justice also took delight in making his own soda-water with Woulfe's apparatus for impregnating water with carbonic gas.[3]

James Winthrop graduated in the same class with Mr. Parsons. He was librarian of the College from 1772 to 1787, and fought at Bunker Hill. Afterward he was judge of probate, and died at Cambridge in 1821. He inherited some taste for science, observed from the president's house the transit of Mercury Nov. 12, 1782; published two mathematical papers, and also an account of an ancient eclipse of the moon seen at Jerusalem and mentioned by Josephus, which had been used by Whiston to settle the date of the birth of Christ.[4]

The invention of some kind of machinery for illustrating the celestial mechanism dates back to the time of Archimedes.[5] Rittenhouse of Philadelphia has had the credit of having constructed the first orrery with wheels in this country, in 1768.[6]

Boston had its orrery as well as Philadelphia, but it came a few years later. Its history is curious, and reflects some light on the science and habits of the last century. This orrery introduces us to Mr. Joseph Pope, who was born in Hollis Street, Feb. 1, 1750, being one of twelve children.

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, ii. 12.

[2] *Navigator*, 10th edition, p. 243.

[3] *Life*, by his son (1859).

[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 159; ii. 20.

[5] Such contrivances were regarded in their day as miracles of mechanical skill and astronomical learning. Of one of these, which antedated the Christian era by eighty years, it was said that if it were seen by a barbarous people it would seem to be made, if not actuated, by perfect reason. Another, constructed in the sixth century, was described as a "machine pregnant with the universe; a portable heaven; a compendium of all things." The Copernican system of astronomy introduced changes of construction; and what is now called an orrery (in compliment to the Earl of Orrery, a patron of the art) was invented in England by Graham in 1700. Ferguson devised and executed another in 1743. Long, the professor of astronomy in Cambridge, England, had completed in 1758 his enormous astronomical machine eighteen feet in diameter, within which thirty persons might sit comfortably. It has stood for one hundred years, and perhaps still stands, in Pembroke College, to amuse visitors, if not to popularize astronomy according to the design of its inventor.

[6] *Amer. Phil. Trans.*, i. 1. See p. 493.

At the age of sixteen or seventeen he went to Maryland and learned the trade of watch-making. Then he spent some time in Europe. Returning to Boston he applied himself to his trade, devoting his leisure, however, to the study of navigation and mathematics with his brother Robert. Meeting in some book with a description of an orrery, he conceived the idea of making one after his own plan. It was finished in 1786, and embodied ten years of his best labor and thought. It was deposited in an upper chamber of his house in Washington Street, where it had a narrow escape from being burned. Governor Bowdoin, who had been interested in it, when he heard of its danger, sent six men with a cart and blankets to rescue it. With difficulty it was brought down the stairs (Mr. Pope himself tearing away the balusters), and taken temporarily to the Governor's house, and afterward to Mr. Pope's new residence on Essex Street. There it was visited by hundreds a day. His daughter has written out interesting reminiscences of her father, describing his various other inventions; his visit to London in 1788, where he remained fourteen months; the kindness he received from Sir Joseph Banks, and his correspondence with Jefferson and Lafayette.

Mr. Pope moved to Hallowell, Me., about 1818, and died there in 1826. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Robert Pope, of Gardiner, has inherited a curious clock made by Mr. Pope in 1780, which still runs accurately. Numerous hands indicate the local time in twenty-four different longitudes, the place of the sun in the zodiac, and the phases of the moon.

A description of Pope's orrery was published in the *Memoirs*[1] of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of which he was chosen a member in 1788. A committee of the Academy, consisting of Richard Cranch, Samuel Williams, Joseph Willard, Caleb Gannett, and Loammi Baldwin, examined the orrery and made a favorable report upon it on February 22 of that year.[2] On the petition of the Lieut.-governor and seventy others an Act was passed by the General Court,[3] and signed by John Hancock, granting a lottery for the purpose of raising a sum not exceeding £550, to be expended in the purchase of Pope's orrery for Harvard College. Three men of character and influence were appointed managers, and gave bonds for £2,000. The penalty for counterfeiting the tickets was £100 fine, or whipping, or standing in the pillory. Some of the reasons for the Act are set forth in these words selected from the preamble: "And whereas, this Court are willing at all times to encourage the efforts of ingenuity, and to aid a plan which has the advancement of science and the public good for its object." The managers issued a circular, Dec. 3, 1788, announcing the scheme of the lottery, and then said:[4]—

"The managers flatter themselves that the above scheme is calculated to give a fair chance to all who may become adventurers, and holds up every pecuniary advantage

[1] Vol. ii. p. 43.

[2] *Massachusetts Magazine*, i. 36.

[3] Nov. 21, 1788. *Acts and Laws of General Court* (1783–88), p. 719.

[4] *Massachusetts Centinel*, Dec. 10, 1788.

that can be reasonably expected. But this lottery, besides holding out to those who embark in it a capital opportunity of benefit, comprises two other important objects which must deeply interest the feelings of all who regard the honour of their country and the advancement of the arts and sciences. The latter must be eminently served by the University being possessed of an instrument which, in its kind perhaps, the world cannot parallel. The former must be promoted by rewarding in some degree the efforts of a worthy mechanick, whose application and genius would do credit to any age or nation. Such being the design of this lottery, there cannot be a doubt that a people who have long enjoyed the blessings of science and literature, and who have been distinguished by their early attention to seminaries of learning, will give, by their zeal in such a cause, so rapid a sale to the tickets that the managers may have it in their power, as it is truly their wish, to announce a very early day for the drawing."

According to the scheme,[1] there were three thousand tickets at $2 each, to be purchased only from the managers or the librarian of the University. There were six hundred and seventy-three prizes of $3 each, fifteen of $20, three of $50, two of $100, one of $200, one of $300, and one of $1,000, — which would leave for expenses and profits $1,831.

It was advertised at first that the drawing would be executed in Faneuil Hall. It really took place in the hall of the House of Representatives, between March 10 and 14. The *Centinel* of February 28 contained this notice:[2] "Mr. Pope's planetarium (or orrery) was yesterday removed from this town to be deposited in the Philosophy room of the University of Cambridge. A correspondent cannot forbear congratulating the public, that through the liberality of the citizens of this State the above mentioned elegant and useful production of ingenuity will be retained among us, and that the artist will be rewarded for his talents and time." President Willard's receipt for the orrery is dated March 20. The lottery account stood thus: the proceeds were £549 6*s.*; expenses, £27 8*s.* 3*d.*; paid to Mr. Pope for the orrery £450 3*s.*; the balance of £71 14*s.* 9*d.* was paid into the College treasury, in accordance with the Act of the General Court, and a receipt given by the treasurer (Storer), March 31, 1789. On the same day it was voted: —

"That the thanks of the Corporation be given to Samuel Eliot, Henry Hill, and Aaron Dexter, Esquires, — managers of a lottery granted by the Honorable General Court to purchase for the college an orrery made by Mr. Joseph Pope, — for their great attention to the business; by which the design was so speedily and happily carried into execution. And while they view with pleasure this noble and useful machine, which does so much honor to Mr. Pope, they feel highly grateful to the managers of the lottery for their politeness and generosity in freely giving their time and trouble, by which means a handsome sum has been received into the treasury of the college."

The bonds given by the managers were cancelled April 14. The orrery is still in good condition; but a century has made a change in the estimation in which orreries are held.[3]

[1] *Centinel*, December 10 and March 18.

[2] Also *Salem Mercury*, March 3.

[3] At this period lotteries were in good repute, and presented an easy and convenient way

We resume the biographical sketches: —

Samuel Webber was born in Byfield in 1760; graduated at Harvard College in 1784; was tutor in 1787–89, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy from

of raising large sums of money; as fairs do nowadays. This device is not of American or English origin. Lotteries were instituted in Florence as early as 1530; in France in 1539; in England in 1569; and in Germany in 1699. The people's lottery of 1863, in aid of the fund for completing the Cathedral of Cologne, proves that they are still held in Europe to be respectable. Governments have not scrupled to profit by this fertile expedient. Between 1816 and 1828 the French government derived an annual income of fourteen millions of francs from lotteries. The drawing of the first English lottery took place at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the proceeds were applied to the repair of the harbors; there were forty thousand shares at ten shillings a share. In 1747 a million pounds was raised in a similar way, the prizes being paid in perpetual annuities at four per cent. The first parliamentary lottery was in 1709; but in 1612 the Virginia Company was authorized to raise money by a lottery. It is not strange that an institution so strongly indorsed, and appealing to the charity as well as to the cupidity of the community, took deep root in this country, where everything was to be done and where there was little money to do it. In this way, roads, bridges, ferries, wharves, were built or repaired; and hospitals, academies, and colleges were endowed.

In 1744 authority was given in this province to raise £7,500 to replenish the public treasury; but the managers were forbidden to sell tickets to Indians, negroes, or mulattoes; and if by accident one of these drew a prize, it was forfeited.* In 1749, the town of Swansea was allowed a lottery in order to repair Miles's bridge. In 1750 the town of Newbury was permitted to raise £12,000 to build a bridge. In the same year the public treasury received $26,700. In 1755 the town of Teticut was granted a lottery for building a bridge. In 1757 a lottery was sanctioned to encourage the manufacture of glass in Braintree. In 1772 a lottery was authorized in the interest of Harvard College, for building Stoughton Hall;* and the privilege was renewed in 1794.† As all the tickets were not sold, the managers asked the College to take them. This may explain a statement in the *Massachusetts Magazine* that the College had drawn $10,000 in a lottery. The sum realized by the treasurer in 1804 was $18,400. In 1778 a lottery was granted for the benefit of the officers and soldiers of the State. In 1779 three

* *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay*, vol. iii. p. 195 (1878).

† *Acts and Laws of Commonwealth*, ii. 405.

was another lottery for raising £60,000 to repair the streets of Charlestown, and £250,000 to repair Long Wharf. In 1780 resort was had to a lottery for obtaining $200,000 to mend the roads in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire. In 1806 Harvard College received $29,000 from a lottery to help in the building of Holworthy.* In 1812 a lottery was granted in order to obtain $16,000 for repairing Plymouth Beach. This grant eventually brought the subject to a crisis. In 1750 there was a lottery in Connecticut in aid of the fund for erecting a new edifice in Yale College. †

The obvious evils of the system were not slow to manifest themselves here as elsewhere. The spirit of gambling was disguised under the garb of charity, and moral distinctions were confounded. The temptation was irresistible to those who had but little to invest, and the poor were the greatest sufferers. As a tax it fell most heavily upon them. After the suppression of lotteries in France about 1830, the funds in savings-banks increased one year by 525,000 francs. It is stated that an assembly of ministers in Boston in 1699 denounced lotteries as cheats. In reference to private lotteries, the General Court declared and enacted in 1719 "that all such lotteries and all other lotteries are common and publick nusances." ‡ More stringent laws were passed in 1733, 1753, and 1785. The sale of tickets in foreign lotteries (not authorized by a State or the United States government) was forbidden. Finally, in 1821, a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives (of which Peter C. Brooks § was the moving spirit) disclosed the abuses of the system of State lotteries; showing that in a recent case nearly half a million dollars had been collected from tickets, and a larger sum sunk in expenses and prizes. An embezzlement and a suicide in Boston exposed the frauds perpetrated by dealers in lottery tickets, and on the recommendation of Governor Lincoln a law was passed in 1833 which gave the final blow to the sale of tickets in this State. ‖ Most of the other States imitated the example of Massachusetts. In 1823 Great Britain followed, both as regards domestic lotteries and the sale of tickets in foreign ones.

* *Laws of the Commonwealth*, iii. 361 (1807). Quincy's *History*, ii. pp. 162, 273, and 292.

† Holmes's *Life of President Stiles*, p. 391.

‡ *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay*, vol. ii. p. 149.

§ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ix. 26.

‖ House Documents, 1833, No. 44, p. 28. *Laws of Commonwealth*, xii. 721.

1789 to 1806, and president from 1806 to the time of his death in 1810. He observed the annular eclipse of the sun on April 3, 1791; and in 1796 was appointed by the Government to ascertain the boundary between the United States and Canada. In 1801 he published a *System of Mathematics* in two volumes.

Walter Folger was born in Nantucket in 1765. The common schools in which he was educated were so poor that the pupil was soon able to instruct the teacher. By himself he conquered algebra, geometry, and the elements of the calculus. He learned French in order to be able to read Lalande's *Astronomy*. He elevated the position of ship-masters by teaching them navigation. In 1790 he calculated and printed an almanac. He inherited an aptitude for mechanics, and made refracting and reflecting telescopes. His greatest achievement in this line was a clock which indicated the year and day as well as the hours and minutes, and also the changes of the moon. In this complex mechanism one wheel made only one revolution in a century. Mr. Folger's observations [1] of the comets of 1807 and 1811 were used by Dr. Bowditch, with others, in calculating their orbits. He also observed the total eclipse of 1806. He studied law for his own benefit and that of his neighbors, and was sent to Congress. He wrote a memoir upon aerolites, and made voluminous calculations on Encke's comet, but most of his work exists only in manuscript. He died in 1849.

Epaphras Hoyt was born in Deerfield in 1765, and died there in 1850. He declined a place in the army offered to him by Washington, but he rose to be major-general of the militia. He published several books on military affairs, and left others in manuscript. In 1824 he published *Antiquarian Researches*. His scientific work consisted of observations of the lunar eclipse of Jan. 15, 1805; the solar eclipse of Sept. 17, 1811; an occultation of Aldebaran by the moon on Oct. 29, 1811; and the meridian altitudes of several celestial bodies. From these observations he deduced the latitude and longitude of Deerfield. He also made observations on the declination of the magnetic needle.[2]

Elisha Clap was born in Dorchester in 1766. He graduated at Harvard College in 1797 and was tutor there in 1801–3. He studied for the ministry, but in 1804 he was appointed principal of the Sandwich Academy where he remained ten years. Between 1816 and 1826 he had a private school in Boston, and died there in 1830. He devoted much of his time to mathematics and astronomy; worked with Chief-Justice Parsons upon the orbit of the comet of 1807; and prepared for the press Dr. Holyoke's meteorological observations for twenty-six years, 1793–1818.[3]

The nineteenth century opened with a prospect more encouraging to science than that which greeted the eyes of its predecessor. In 1780 the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, which held its meetings alternately

[1] Published in the Boston papers.

[2] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iii. 305.

[3] *Hist. Soc.*, i. 438. *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iv. 361. The preparation of an almanac implies a certain amount of astronomical and mathematical acquirement. Mr. Holyoke published in Boston *An Almanack of the celestial motions, aspects, and eclipses*, etc., for the years from 1715 to 1723 inclusive. — Dr. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham was eminent as a physician and mathematician. He published an *Astronomical Diary or Almanack* for forty years 1725–65. It was held in such repute throughout the country that after his death in 1766 it was continued under his name until 1775. — Dr. William Douglass was a native of Scotland, but came to Boston in his youth. He was a mathematician and published an almanack for 1743 and 1744 under the name of *Mercurius Novanglicanus*. [See Vol. II. Index. — Ed.] Still more short-lived were the almanacs of Eddy for 1760, of Pope for 1792, and of Chandler for 1798.

in Boston and Cambridge, had been founded.[1] Count Rumford's bequest in 1796, while it extended the usefulness of the Academy, indicated the confidence inspired by the high character of its membership. At its centennial celebration in May, 1880, the Academy could point to its fourteen quarto volumes of *Memoirs* and its fifteen volumes of *Proceedings* as the justification of its existence. All these publications, except two volumes of the *Memoirs*, belong to the present century. We return again to the biographical sketches: —

The most conspicuous figure among the scientific worthies of the first half of the century is Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch. He was born in Salem in 1773, and removed to Boston in 1823, where he died in 1838. Though Dr. Bowditch was his own teacher in mathematics, he was competent, at the age of twenty, to detect flaws in a mathematical demonstration published in the second volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy. After he became a Fellow of the Academy in 1799 he furnished twenty-three articles for its printed volumes. The first was of great interest to the navigator, being "On a new method of working a Lunar Observation."[2] Although Dr. Bowditch is best known by his mathematical achievements, he lost no opportunity while he lived in Salem of observing comets, eclipses, and occultations, as material for his computations. He thoroughly discussed the eclipses of 1806 and 1811, and all other eclipses and transits which had ever been observed in the vicinity, and deduced from the whole mass of evidence the most probable value for the longitude of Cambridge. He collected all the observations upon the great meteors of 1807 and 1819, and computed the height and the velocity of these strange visitants to our sky. He fitted out the blazing comets of 1807, 1811, and 1819 with appropriate orbits, and sent them on their way. He made careful observations on the Declination and Inclination of the magnetic needle, for the purpose of estimating the changes in the direction and intensity of the force of terrestrial magnetism. His computations upon the contemporaneous observations made with barometers in 1804 at Salem, Boston, and the White Mountains brought down the height of Mount Washington from ten thousand feet (as given by Dr. Belknap)[3] to seven thousand one hundred and eight feet. This figure is too great, but the fault was in the barometers of that day. Dr. Bowditch's analysis of the motions of a pendulum suspended from two points, with his experimental illustrations, have a fresh interest at this time, as anticipating by more than half a century the famous Lissajous curves which now play an important part in the science of acoustics.[4] In the realm of pure mathematics Dr. Bowditch's mind worked with an accuracy equal to its power, and enabled him to detect oversights in the work of such profound mathematicians as Poisson and Laplace. The crowning glory of Dr. Bowditch's scientific life was his translation of Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*, and his invaluable commentary upon it. This vast work was done at Salem between the years 1815 and 1817. Dr. Bowditch's removal to Boston facilitated, and perhaps made possible, its publication; which extended over the ten years from 1829 to 1839. And all this, be it remembered, was only a brilliant scientific episode in a life never released from the labors and anxieties of business.

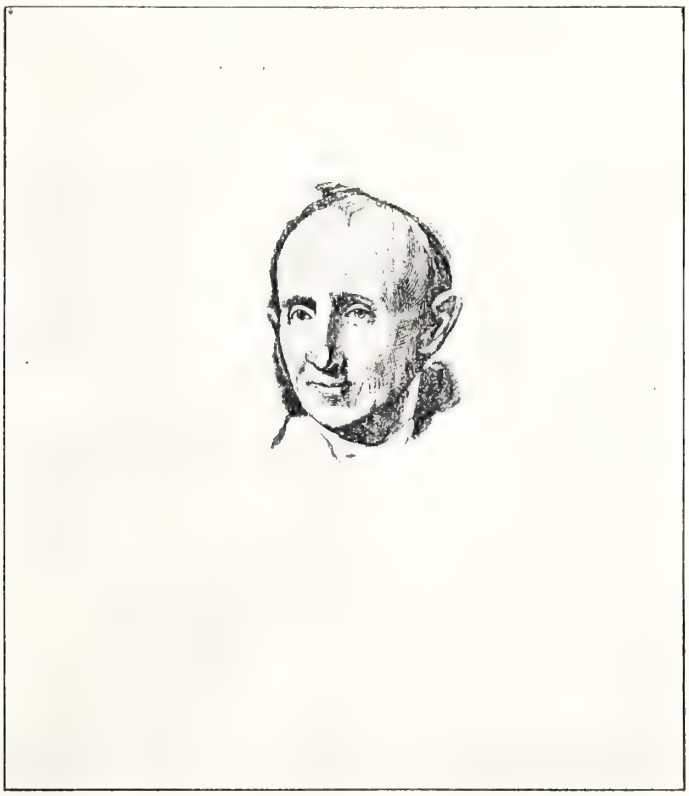
[1] [See the chapter on "Education" in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] *Memoirs Amer. Acad.*, vol. ii. 1.

[3] *Hist. of New Hampshire*, iii. 49.

[4] [Professor Lovering presented a paper to the American Academy on the "Anticipations of the Lissajous Curves," which is printed in its *Proceedings*, xvi. p. 292. — Ed.]

John Farrar was born in Lincoln in 1779. His father destined him to a farmer's life; but a trifle turned the boy's thoughts in a different direction. On a visit to his brother who was in college he saw the students practising with a fire-engine, and the fascinations of college life were irresistible. After graduating at Harvard College in 1803, he studied for the ministry, but was soon brought back to Cambridge. From 1805 to 1807 he was tutor in Greek, and from 1807 to 1836 professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. Professor Farrar's attractive style of lecturing supplied the deficiency which existed in his means of experimental illustration. He



Nath^l Bowditch [1]

rendered great service to his department by translating and publishing, between 1818 and 1828, eleven of the best French treatises, which became the text-books generally used at colleges for many years. His observations on the comet of 1811 were published, with a description of it, in the *Memoirs* of the Academy, which he served as secretary from 1811 to 1824, and as vice-president in 1829–30. Five or six essays on scientific subjects were written by him for the *North American Review*. He retired partially in 1831, and wholly in 1833, and visited Europe twice with the hope of

[1] [This portrait of Dr. Bowditch was begun by Stuart for the East India Marine Society; but being left unfinished, it was bought of the heirs of Stuart by the sitter, and is now in the possession of Wm. I. Bowditch, a son of Dr. Bowditch. Mason's *Stuart*, p. 149. — Ed.]

restoring his health; but he returned no better than when he left, and remained an invalid until released by death in 1853.

Ichabod Nichols was born in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1784, graduated at Harvard College in 1802, and officiated as tutor in mathematics at the College from 1805 to 1809. He was settled over a church in Portland in 1809, at first as a colleague. Eminent in his profession, he always retained his interest in mathematics and astronomy, and took careful observations on the solar eclipse of Sept. 17, 1811. In 1855 his society released him from active service, and he passed his retirement in Cambridge and died there in 1859.

The foundation of the astronomical observatory at Cambridge marks a new epoch in the cultivation of astronomy in this vicinity. Previously no adequate means existed for making observations of precision with fixed instruments, as contrasted with what might be done with ordinary telescopes by amateurs. In observing the comet of 1811 Professor Farrar relied upon a sextant for position and a watch for time. The best map of the States rests upon a trigonometrical survey of excellent quality, but with no better astronomical support than was given to it by latitudes and longitudes obtained with sextants and chronometers. W. C. Bond, who died in 1859 at the head of a great observatory and with a world-wide reputation, began life with few external advantages. He was born in Portland in 1789; but his father moved to Boston in 1790, and the son received here his pittance of education. The father was a watchmaker of narrow means, and required the assistance of his son in his business "before he had learned the multiplication table;" but the delicacy of touch and vision which he acquired in his trade were not wasted upon him in his scientific work,—and Joseph Henry probably profited by the same hard discipline. The total eclipse of the sun in 1806, when Bond was only seventeen years old, made him an astronomer. He extemporized rude instruments for taking the altitude and transit of stars. His vigilance in detecting the comet of 1811, four months before it was seen in Cambridge, brought him to the notice of Dr. Bowditch and Professor Farrar. Through their influence he received a commission from the Corporation of Harvard College to visit the principal observatories of Europe. Between 1820 and 1842 he observed eclipses and occultations at his home in Dorchester with instruments bought at his own expense, among them a meridian instrument for getting correct time. During the last part of this period he was employed by the United States Government in making observations in co-operation with the officers of the United States antarctic expedition. In 1842 he was induced by President Quincy to come to Cambridge,—the College furnishing a house, which served as a primitive observatory, and Mr. Bond providing all the instruments which were of much value; but an astronomer without an observatory was an inconsistency too glaring to continue long. In this emergency the comet of 1843 blazed almost at midday in the very face of the sun, awakening a popular interest in astronomy which the august and solemn motion of the stars could not excite. President Quincy and Professor Peirce took advantage of the event

to make an effectual appeal to the liberality of the citizens of Boston. In 1844 the observatory was built; in 1847 an equatorial telescope, unrivalled in its day, was placed under the large dome; and in 1848 the meridian circle was ready for work.

Under the wise and able direction of the two Bonds and Professor Winlock (the endowments of each happily supplementing those of the others) the observatory soon acquired, and afterward maintained, a high rank with the best equipped and most fully appointed observatories of the Old World, and stimulated other institutions and the national government to follow the example. Here, for the first time in this country, was an addition made to the permanent bodies of the solar system when the elder Bond discovered the eighth satellite of Saturn and its dark inner ring. His researches on the nebulæ of Orion and Andromeda, and on the physical aspect of the planets, especially of the Saturnian system, revealed the delicacy of his vision no less than the excellence of his instruments.

One other astronomer deserves to be noticed: —

William Mitchell was born in Nantucket in 1791. He was educated on the Island, but none of his teachers ever inspired him with a love of books. At the age of fifteen he was put to learning the trade of cooper. From eighteen to twenty-one he was a teacher. Then for ten years (1812–22) he was in business with his father. From 1822 to 1830 he was again employed in teaching. From 1830 to his retirement in 1861 he was an officer in an insurance company or a bank. At times and in several capacities he represented the Island at the State Capital. He inherited a love of astronomy, and diffused a scientific atmosphere around his home and neighborhood. He had taught himself enough of mathematics to enable him to calculate the annular eclipse of Feb. 12, 1831, which he had also the satisfaction of observing. He was probably the first in the country to welcome Halley's comet on its return in 1835. The Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey employed him in making observations for determining the latitude and longitude of Nantucket. In 1860 he received an honorary degree from Harvard College. He removed to Lynn in 1861, and to Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in 1865, and died there in 1869, leaving as a legacy to his daughter (Miss Maria Mitchell) that love of astronomy which he had received from his father.

II. Physics and Chemistry. Brief notices of some of the most eminent in these departments here follow: —

The name of Benjamin Franklin cannot be wholly omitted from this portion of the memorial, although he has been specially commemorated in the second volume.[1] Born in Boston in 1706, and educated at the common schools, he left it at the age of seventeen for Philadelphia, where he died in 1790. Having seen some electrical experiments on a visit to Boston in 1746, he soon became a conspicuous figure in science by his bold experiments, his original discoveries, and his beautiful theory of electricity. Though public affairs engrossed most of his time at a later period, he continued his contributions, practical, experimental, and speculative, in various branches

[1] P. 269.

Edward Bromfield[1]

of science. He was one of the founders of the University of Pennsylvania, and was influential in inaugurating the Philosophical Society in the city of his adoption, — the oldest association in the country dedicated to science.

Edward Bromfield, who was descended from an old family of influence and prop-

[1] [This cut follows a copy made by Miss E. S. Quincy of a likeness, supposed to be by Smibert, which was in the possession of the late Mrs. Blanchard of Harvard, Massachusetts, granddaughter of Henry, a younger brother of Edward Bromfield, Jr. See account of him and his family by D. D. Slade in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* January, 1872, p. 37. — Ed.]

erty in Wales, emigrated from Hampshire, England, to Boston in 1675. Here he became an eminent merchant. His mansion-house stood in the street which now bears his name, but it was then surrounded by fields and groves. His son, of the same name, was born in Boston in 1696, and was also a merchant of high character. He built the first house on Beacon Street,[1] where it remained until 1845, having been sold in 1756 to William Phillips, the son-in-law. In this house Edward Bromfield the Third was born in 1723, and died Aug. 18, 1746, after graduating at Harvard College in 1742. He lived long enough, however, to develop a character and exhibit tastes and talents which have embalmed his name in the memory of succeeding generations, and he might have achieved great distinction in science if his life had been spared. His love of music, united with much mechanical skill, induced him to undertake the construction of an organ (the first built in America), though he had seen only two or three which had been imported from England. This organ was of excellent workmanship, with two rows of keys, and was intended for twelve hundred pipes, though he did not live to complete more than a few hundred. During the siege of Boston the organ and the library of Josiah Quincy, Jr., were removed for safety to a store belonging to William Phillips, where unfortunately both were burned. Young Bromfield was also the first in America to make a microscope, grinding and polishing his own lenses. Possibly he had read a description of the instruments made and used by the famous Dutch microscopist, Leeuwenhoek, which was published in 1740;[2] but he must have depended mainly on his own resources. Dr. Thomas Prince has described in glowing terms the wonderful insight into the mysteries of creation imparted by Bromfield's lenses. He says of the inventor that "he seemed to be making haste to the sight of the *Minima Naturalia*, or the very minutest and original atoms of material substances."[3] For ninety-nine years after he was dead, the sun still shone through the hole in the shutter of the attic window in Beacon Street, which he had cut for his solar microscopes, and a few relics of his instruments are possibly preserved. The only book of his library which has been preserved is Hooke's *Micrographia*, London, 1666. This was given to Miss E. S. Quincy in 1848 by a relative of Edward Bromfield, and was presented by her in 1870 to the library of the Boston Society of Natural History. It contained an autograph and some notes, to which Miss Quincy added a photograph of the portrait which is given in the text.

Edward Bromfield also made sundials, and maps in various kinds of projection. He had a talent for drawing, and cultivated it by the purchase of valuable engravings; among them a glorification of Sir Isaac Newton, by G. Bicknell, 1733 (the first engraver of his day, according to Walpole), doubly memorable as having ornamented the room of President Quincy in Massachusetts Hall during his college days, between 1786 and 1790. Of the few drawings of Bromfield which have escaped the accidents of time and war, the most interesting one was placed by Miss Quincy in the volume given to the Society of Natural History.

Samuel Danforth was born in Cambridge in 1740 and graduated at Harvard College in 1758. He studied medicine, and practised two years in Newport and the rest of his life in Boston, where he died in 1827. His knowledge of chemistry was extensive for his time, and he imported the best collection of chemical apparatus that had then been seen in Boston. Dr. Eliot refers to his father, the Hon. Samuel Danforth of Cambridge, as eminent for his acquaintance with natural philosophy and chemistry.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 521.— Ed.]

[2] *Phil. Trans. Royal Soc.*, London.

[3] *American Magazine*, 1746, p. 548.

Samuel Tenney was born in Rowley in 1748, and graduated at Harvard College in 1772. He studied medicine in Andover and settled in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1775, intending to practise; but he soon joined the army and remained in it to the close of the war. He returned to Exeter, but not to the practice of his profession. He was judge, member of Congress, and member of his State Convention. He published in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a paper on the Waters of Saratoga, and another on the Prismatic Colors; and in the *Medical Repository* an explanation of a curious phenomenon in the heating of water. He died in 1816.

John Lathrop was born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1740, and graduated at Princeton College in 1763. After he was prepared for the ministry he was settled at the Old North Church in Boston, in 1768.[1] In 1779 his society united with another, their own building having been destroyed during the war. He received honorary degrees from Harvard in 1768 and from Edinburgh in 1785, and was a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College from 1778 to 1815. Elected a member of the American Academy in 1790, he made several contributions to its *Memoirs* on the effects of lightning, and on the springs and wells in the peninsula of Boston. Dr. Lathrop died in 1816.

Loammi Baldwin was born in Woburn in 1745, and died there in 1807. He had a good education at school, and was fond of mathematics. In 1770 he and Benjamin Thompson obtained permission to attend the lectures on natural philosophy of Professor Winthrop, at Cambridge. A journey of nine miles on foot back to their homes, after each lecture, was not able to damp their zeal. With such rude apparatus as they could extemporize they repeated the experiments which had illustrated the lectures. Mr. Baldwin became a surveyor and engineer, and superintended the construction of the Middlesex Canal, which was called at that time an "immense undertaking."[2] He served in the Revolutionary Army from June 16, 1775, to 1777, when ill health compelled him to retire, with the rank of colonel. He was sheriff of Middlesex from 1780 to 1794. He received an honorary degree from Harvard College in 1785. In 1771 Mr. Baldwin attempted to repeat Franklin's experiment on a thunder-cloud, with a kite; but when the kite had reached an elevation not much above that of the highest trees in the vicinity, he was enveloped in a glare of light which induced him to desist from his attempt. In 1797 he suggested to the American Academy the substitution, for the round lightning-rod, of a square bar jagged at the edges, and other improvements which are now in general use.

Aaron Dexter was born in Malden in 1750. His father was a farmer. He wished to send one of his boys to college, and Aaron was selected.[3] After graduating at Harvard College in 1776 he studied medicine with Dr. S. Danforth, and then made several voyages as ship-surgeon. He was taken prisoner and carried to Halifax. At the close of the war he settled as a physician in Boston. In 1791 the professorship of chemistry was founded in Harvard College by Major Erving, partly as a token of respect and affection for Dr. Dexter. He was professor of Chemistry and *Materia Medica* from 1783 to 1816, and honorary professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1816 to the time of his death in 1829. In 1793 he published in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a paper on the manufacture of potash.[4]

John Prince was born in Boston in 1751. His father was a hatter, and he was apprenticed to a tinman. When he came of age he prepared for Harvard College,

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 240. — Ed.]

[2] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xii. 174. [See Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[3] *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, i. 421.

[4] Vol. II. 165.

and graduated in 1776. In 1779 he was settled over a church in Salem, where he had a prosperous ministry of fifty-seven years and seven months, and which terminated only with his death in 1836. He observed at Beverly the solar eclipse of Oct. 27, 1780,[1] but his taste was more in the direction of mechanics and natural philosophy than of astronomy. He was not only familiar with the best physical apparatus of his day, but he could make it himself; and in some cases he improved upon what could be purchased, by his own inventions. He was often, in deference to his superior judgment, commissioned by colleges and individuals to import apparatus from London. He had collected a valuable library of scientific books which was accessible to Dr. Bowditch before he was known to fame. Mr. Prince encouraged him by his appreciating sympathy, and was always ready to supplement his imperfect early education from his own superior advantages. The improvements which he made in Smeaton's air-pump,[2] accounts of which were widely circulated in foreign journals, made his science and mechanical skill as highly respected abroad as they were at home; and the American air-pump was exalted to a place among the constellations in celestial maps and globes. The eminent mechanician of London, Mr. Adams, adopted the modifications which Dr. Prince had made in his Lucernal Microscope (an instrument now superseded by the photographic camera), with the bare statement that he had received some suggestions from a clergyman.[3] In 1831 Dr. Prince published an account of a new stand which he had constructed for a reflecting telescope. He closes the description of it with this sentence: "I made the brass work myself, and finished it on my birthday, — 80 years old."[4]

James Thacher was born in Barnstable in 1754. He studied medicine under Dr. Hersey of Hingham, served in the army as surgeon from 1775 to 1783, and then practised in his profession in Plymouth, where he died in 1844. Most of his writings relate to his profession; but he published in the second volume of the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a paper on the art of extracting salt from sea-water. His *American Dispensary* which first appeared in 1810 shows his familiarity with chemistry.

Benjamin Thompson, already mentioned in connection with young Baldwin, was born in Woburn in 1753. At school his special taste was for arithmetic and elementary mathematics, and he found a congenial teacher in the Rev. Samuel Williams of Bradford. Forced at thirteen into a counting-room in Salem, he beguiled his time in these studies and in mechanical pursuits. He then made an unsuccessful attempt to study medicine with a physician in Woburn. After making a second trial of a counting-room, in Boston, he came home with the reputation of being unfitted to support himself or give any comfort to his friends. While teaching school in Concord, New Hampshire, he formed an acquaintance which led to his marriage at nineteen, and introduced him to a social circle suited to his ambition. When the army of the Revolution was in Cambridge, he was active in protecting the library and philosophical apparatus from injury. Disappointed in obtaining the preferment which he courted, and suspected of disloyalty (though acquitted by a court martial), he left the country for England in 1776,[5] and for the Continent in 1784. He received great attention wherever he went, and made himself highly acceptable to the King of Bavaria, from whom he acquired his title of Count Rumford. In his turn he rendered the greatest services to the Bavarian

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 130.
[2] Ibid., i. 497.
[3] *Mass. Hist. Col.*, v. 271.
[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 334.
[5] [But came back for a brief interval to take part in the army acting against the Colonies, and served in South Carolina and near New York. — Ed.]

Government and its impoverished subjects. For his scientific acquirements he was honored with membership of the Royal Society of London and the Institute of France; but his interest in science was largely for its applications to the comfort and happiness of the people. That he could have been great in theoretical science is shown by his experiment at Munich in 1798, and his clear reasoning upon it, which was in advance of the prevailing scientific opinion by half a century. If Massachusetts can claim no exclusive property in his scientific renown, his title to a place in this memorial may rest on the munificent gifts which he made to the American Academy of Sciences in Boston and the scientific department at Cambridge. Count Rumford died in France in 1814.[1]

Nathan Reed was born in Warren in 1759, graduated at Harvard College in 1781, and was employed as tutor in the College from 1783 to 1787. Later he studied medicine and taught a school in Salem; moved to Danvers in 1795, and was a member of Congress from Essex in 1801. In 1807 he changed his residence to Belfast, Maine, where he died in 1849. He had an aptitude for mechanics and mechanical inventions;[2] applied steam to paddles, as Fulton did afterward to wheels, testing his invention in 1789 on Wenham Pond. The Governor, Nathan Dane, Dr. Holyoke, and Dr. Prince went on the trial trip between Danvers and Beverly. He conceived the idea of storing the tidal waters and utilizing their energy. The invention of tubular boilers has also been claimed for him.

John Davis was born in Plymouth in 1761, and graduated at Harvard College in 1781. He was one of the Fellows from 1803 to 1810, and treasurer from 1810 to 1827, and judge in the United States district court from 1801 to 1847. Most of his life was spent in Boston, where he died in 1847. When a Junior in college he was selected as one of the students who accompanied Professor Williams to Penobscot to observe the eclipse of the sun. Outside of his profession he was best known for his antiquarian researches, but he always took a lively interest in astronomy, chemistry, and natural history. In 1811 he republished Winthrop's *Lectures on Comets* and Oliver's *Essay on Comets*, with sketches of their lives; and a *Supplement* on the comet of 1811, by himself. He was the first president of the Linnæan Society of New England, and in 1815 delivered an address on the Advantages of the Study of Natural History, and contributed to the scientific proceedings.

Jacob Perkins was born in Newburyport in 1766. He was a goldsmith by trade, but an inventor by Nature's patent. At the age of twenty-one he made dies for the mint; when he was twenty-four he invented machinery for making nails, and steel plates for bank-notes. He resided for a time in Boston and New York. In 1818 he went to England, and died in London in 1849. There his machinery was highly appreciated and freely adopted. The Society of Arts honored him with its medals. Experiments with his steam-gun, which could discharge a thousand balls a minute, interested the Duke of Wellington and other military men; but gunpowder still holds its place against steam. Among his other inventions was one for measuring the depth of the ocean, and another for registering the speed of a vessel. His measure of the compressibility of water stood for many years as the best word of science on the subject, though it is now thought to be too large. He was elected a member of the American Academy in 1813.

[1] [The *Life of Count Rumford*, by George E. Ellis, was published by the American Academy in 1871, and contains engraved likenesses of him. A portrait by Page, after one by Kellerhofer, hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. — ED.]

[2] *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*, i. 184.

Samuel Dexter was born in Boston in 1761, graduated at Harvard College in 1781, and died in Athens, N. Y., in 1816. At a college exhibition in 1780 he delivered a poem on the Progress of Science, which Judge Story states was received with great applause; but he is most widely known as a lawyer and statesman. His father, of the same name (1726–1810), published in 1785, in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy, a paper on the retreat of house-swallows in winter.

In 1792 Captain John Foster Williams communicated to the Boston Marine Society his process for distilling fresh water from salt water, which was published, with drawings, in volumes four and five of the *Massachusetts Magazine*.

Loammi Baldwin, Jr., was born in Woburn in 1780, and graduated at Harvard College in 1800. He studied law, and followed this profession until about 1815, as Professor Ashur Ware (afterward Judge) studied in his office until he left Cambridge. In 1809 Mr. Baldwin published *Thoughts on Political Economy;* but he had a taste for engineering, and visited Europe to accomplish himself in this direction. He became distinguished as an engineer, and was employed by the Government in planning and constructing the dry docks at Norfolk and Charlestown.[1] In 1834 he made his report on the introduction of water into Boston, and in 1835 an additional report.[2] He died in Charlestown in 1838.

John Gorham was born in Boston in 1783, graduated at Harvard College in 1801, and received his medical degree in 1804. He went to Edinburgh to perfect himself in his profession. He was assistant professor of Chemistry and *Materia Medica* in Harvard University from 1809 to 1816, and professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in the College from 1816 to 1827. He published *Elements of Chemical Science* in two volumes in 1819. In 1810 he made an analysis of sulphate of barytes, which was afterward published.[3] He died, greatly lamented, in 1829.

Dr. John Feron of Paris, an honorary member of the Academy, published memoirs in 1783 and 1793 on the well-waters of Boston; and S. Godon of Paris, also an honorary member, published an account of mineralogical observations made in 1807–8 in Boston and its vicinity.

J. G. Cogswell was born in Ipswich in 1786, graduated at Harvard College in 1806, studied law with the distinguished Fisher Ames, and was tutor in the College in 1814. In 1816 he went to Göttingen, and took a degree there in 1819. He was librarian of Harvard College from 1820 to 1823, and most of this time also professor of Mineralogy and Geology; he was afterwards one of the founders of the Round Hill School at Northampton. After 1839 he passed many years in New York, and rendered great services to literature and science by the ability he displayed in filling and administering the Astor Library. The last few years of his life were spent in Cambridge, where he died in 1871. He purchased and (with Mr. Andrew Ritchie) presented to Harvard College five thousand minerals and four thousand specimens of plants.

Sylvanus Thayer was born in Braintree in 1788, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1807, and at West Point in 1808. He entered the corps of engineers and rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General. He was engaged in the active duties of his profession until 1817, when he was appointed superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point. His success in its administration was unrivalled, and the character

[1] [See Admiral Preble's chapter on "The Navy and the Charlestown Navy Yard," in Vol. III.—Ed.]

[2] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III.—Ed.]

[3] *Memoirs of American Academy*, iii. 237.

and efficiency of the institution received from him an impulse which was felt for a long time after he left it. After 1833 he had charge of the construction of Forts Warren and Independence, in Boston Harbor. Fort Winthrop and the harbor improvements began under him. He received honorary degrees from Harvard College in 1825 and 1857. He was chosen a member of the American Academy in 1834, and left it a legacy of one thousand dollars. After his retirement in 1863 he lived at South Braintree, and died there in 1872.[1]

S. F. B. Morse was born in Charlestown in 1791,[2] and graduated at Yale College in 1810. He studied art abroad under Benjamin West. On his return to this country he resided in New York, and died there in 1872. His attention was drawn to the electro-magnetic telegraph in 1832, and his faith in its possibilities was not restrained by a knowledge of its difficulties. With the help of others familiar with the science of electricity, he devised or constructed instruments in 1835, the success of which encouraged him to persevere. In 1843 Congress granted an appropriation of $30,000 for establishing a line between Washington and Baltimore, which was completed in 1844. There are more than fifty claimants for the invention of the electrical telegraph. It is unjust to give the credit of it to any one man, and impossible to divide the honor fairly between them. It may be conceded to Mr. Morse that his writing telegraph embodied the best combination of ideas which were in the air and were the common property of all who breathed. It has gradually supplanted the methods of other countries, and foreign Governments have recognized their obligation to Mr. Morse by gratuities amounting in the aggregate to $80,000.

Daniel Treadwell was born in Ipswich in 1791. His ancestors, back to 1637, were farmers. Equipped with a very common-school education he went, in his fifteenth year, as an apprentice to his brother, who was a goldsmith in Newburyport. At seventeen he came to Boston in the same capacity under Mr. Churchill, also a goldsmith; and at twenty-one he was received as a partner, and remained in the business four years. Meanwhile he had read such books as came within his reach, and studied French, geometry, algebra, mechanics, and the laws of mechanism. As jewellery was too expensive a luxury in time of war, his business was not encouraging; and he turned to more congenial pursuits, which had filled his mind even when his hands were upon his work. His first invention was a machine for making wooden screws, on which two years were expended. In 1818 he began the study of medicine with Dr. John Ware, and continued it for one year and a half; but his passion for machinery again prevailed, and determined the rest of his life. After inventing a printing-press to be worked by the legs instead of the arms, during a short visit to England in 1819 his attention was directed to the steam-press then recently introduced into the office of the *Times*. On his return, in the autumn of 1820, he invented his power-press. As there was not at the time a single steam-engine in Boston he worked it by horse-power; but in order to introduce it he became printer himself for two years, when a Boston bookseller purchased his establishment and patent. The first sheet printed on this continent, by any other than hand-power, was printed on Treadwell's press. At the

[1] [It was by his assistance that the selection of military works for the Boston Public Library was so well made, that, at the outbreak of the war in 1861, it was the collection of all in the country best supplied with authorities on war. Among the books which came from his estate to that library after his death, were found the working drawings by which Fort Warren had been constructed, and which had long been lost to sight from their concealment between the leaves of a large volume. Their absence had occasioned the Government some solicitude during the war. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. III. p. 255. — Ed.]

same time he was publishing, in conjunction with Dr. John Ware, the *Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts*. His election into the American Academy in 1823 brought him into intimate association with the best minds in literature and science. On the foundation of the Mechanics' Institution, in 1826, Dr. Bowditch was president, and Mr. Treadwell a vice-president. About this time he began to lecture in Boston on mechanics, and was employed by the city government in making surveys looking to the introduction of water into Boston.[1] In 1829 he received an honorary degree from Harvard College, and gave a course of lectures to the students. In 1830 he invented his machinery for spinning hemp and flax, a description of which was published, with drawings, in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy.[2] Seven years were spent in maturing this invention, by which yarns are made stronger and more uniform, and also at less cost, than before. By 1833 the number of these machines set up by the Boston Hemp Company was sufficient for the annual manufacture of one thousand tons of hemp. From 1834 to 1845 Mr. Treadwell was Rumford Professor in Harvard College. The remainder of his active life was devoted to the invention and construction of cannon of lighter weight or of larger calibre than had hitherto been thought practicable. He published two memoirs on the subject, remarkable for their scientific precision and the knowledge he displayed of the materials with which he was dealing. After some years of infirmity, Professor Treadwell died in Cambridge in 1872.[3]

J. F. Dana was born in Amherst, N. H., in 1793, and graduated at Harvard College in 1813. He studied medicine, partly with Dr. Gorham and partly in London, and took his degree at the Medical School in 1817. He settled in Cambridge as a physician, and in 1819–20 assisted in refitting the chemical laboratory of the College and in teaching chemistry. Dr. Dana was appointed lecturer on chemistry at Dartmouth in 1817, and professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1820–26. In 1826–27 he was professor of Chemistry in the College of Surgeons, New York; and died there in 1827. He contributed many papers on chemistry, etc., to *Silliman's Journal*, and published in 1826 *Epitome of Chymical Philosophy*.

Simeon Borden was born in Fall River in 1798, and was brought up in Tiverton, R. I. He was fond of mathematics, particularly geometry. He was educated as a surveyor and engineer, and made his own surveying compass. In 1828 he had charge of a machine-shop in Fall River. In 1830 he devised and constructed an instrument for measuring a base line, an account of which was published in the *Transactions* of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. From 1834 to 1841 he was in charge of the Trigonometrical Survey of Massachusetts, having already assisted in the measurement of the base line.[4] Though it was the first example in this country of a geodetic survey, the work was found by the officers of the U. S. Coast Survey to be admirably done. Mr. Borden also laid down the boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In 1851 he was employed to suspend a telegraph wire across Hudson River, from the Palisades to Fort Washington, two hundred and twenty feet above the river. He constructed several railroads, and published in 1851 *Useful formulæ adapted to the operations of constructing and locating Railroads*. His residence was in Fall River, where he died in 1856.

[1] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] Vol. i. p. 348.

[3] [He provided by will, that, upon the death of his wife, equal fifths of the residue of his estate should be paid to Harvard College Library, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Boston Athenæum, the Boston Public Library, and the town of Ipswich. — Ed.]

[4] [See map mentioned in Vol. III. Introduction, p. xi. — Ed.]

John Lowell, Jr., son of F. C. Lowell, was born in Boston in 1799. After studying in the schools of Boston and Edinburgh, he entered Harvard College in 1813. He left at the end of two years on account of his health, and in 1816–17 made two voyages to India. On his return he was engaged in the East India business in Boston, giving his leisure to his own cultivation and the public service. After 1832 he made an extended journey in Europe and the East, and died at Bombay in 1836. He inherited a taste for mathematics, and made elaborate computations upon the dimensions of the Pyramids. In 1833, at Edinburgh, he studied mineralogy. While residing in Albania he kept a daily register of the thermometer, barometer, and hygrometer. His bequest of $250,000 for founding the Lowell Institute has, as one of its benefits to the community, been instrumental in diffusing a knowledge of the sciences, and, by that diffusion, inciting some to a scientific career.[1]

III. NATURAL HISTORY. — We continue the plan of personal sketches:

Benjamin Lincoln was born in Hingham in 1733. He was a distinguished officer (Brigadier-General) in the War of the Revolution, and in Shays's Rebellion; Secretary of War in 1781–84; and Collector of Boston from 1789 to 1808. He died at Hingham in 1810. He published two papers in the *Memoirs*[2] of the American Academy, which show that he took an interest in geology and botany. He spent his last years in literary and scientific pursuits.

Manasseh Cutler was one of the earliest cultivators of botany[3] in New England. He was born in Killingly, Conn., in 1742; graduated at Yale in 1765; was settled as minister at Ipswich Hamlet (now Hamilton), where he died in 1823. He studied law, theology, and medicine, after having first tried a mercantile life. He was a pioneer in promoting emigration to the West; and set the example by going there himself, in 1788, in a sulky, — a journey of seven hundred and fifty miles in twenty-nine days. He returned in 1791, and was a member of Congress from 1800 to 1804. In 1785 he published[4] a paper of great merit, and one hundred pages long, giving "An Account of some of the vegetable Productions naturally growing in this Part of America, botanically arranged." He begins with these words: "In an infant country, where Nature has been liberal in her productions, and internal resources are greatly wanted, few objects can be of greater importance than natural history. Yet, unhappily, there is no branch of useful knowledge we have so little cultivated. The cultivation of this branch of science will open to our view the treasures we possess unenjoyed; and must eventually tend to the security and welfare of our citizens, the extension of their commerce, and the improvement of those arts which adorn and embellish life." In 1809 he published a short paper "on a singular natural production, in which one part appears to be a plant and the other an insect, etc." He explains it and says: "It often happens that things which at first view seem miraculous are found on examination not to be miraculous, but produced in the regular course of nature."[5]

Chief-Justice Parsons discovered the *magnolia glauca* near Gloucester. He also made a collection of minerals and fossils.

[1] [See an account of the Institute in the chapter on "Education," and of his family relationship in the chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — ED.]

[2] Vol. i. pp. 372, 388.

[3] [See the chapter by Professor Asa Gray on "The Flora of Boston and its vicinity," in Vol. I. — ED.]

[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 396.

[5] Ibid., iii. 161.

John Lowell was born in Newbury in 1744, and graduated at Harvard College in 1760.[1] He came to Boston in 1761, and died at Roxbury in 1802. He rose to great eminence as a lawyer, statesman, and judge in the U. S. district court. Massachusetts owes to him the most pregnant sentence in the Bill of Rights: *All men are born free and equal.*[2] He was greatly interested in botany and other branches of natural history. His advent into the Corporation of Harvard College, in 1784, was signalized by an appeal to the State Legislature in favor of creating a botanic garden at Cambridge. The King of France had offered "to furnish such garden with every species of seeds and plants which may be requested, from his royal garden, at his own expense." The application was unsuccessful at that critical period in the history of the State. In 1791 President Willard received a letter from Mr. Buck of Hamburg, who had studied under Linnæus, suggesting an exchange in specimens of natural history; but the College was not in a condition to accept the offer. In 1802 Judge Lowell originated a movement, which was fully consummated in 1805, for establishing a botanic garden and a professorship of Natural History in the College; and gave generously to the fund of $30,000 which was raised for this purpose.

Winthrop Sargent was born in Gloucester in 1753, graduated at Harvard College in 1771, and died on his passage from the South to Boston in 1820. He entered the army in 1775, and served with distinction. In 1786 he was appointed surveyor of the Northwest Territory, and, from 1798 to 1801, governor of the Mississippi Territory. He made his large opportunities serve the ends of natural history by publishing in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy a catalogue of forest and other trees along the River Ohio, and meteorological observations in the vicinity of Natchez. He also furnished an account of the earthquakes felt in Mississippi, Dec. 16, 1811, and Jan. 23, 1812, the first of which overturned chimneys and rang the bells in the steeples.[3]

Benjamin Waterhouse was born in Newport, R. I., in 1754, and died in Cambridge in 1846. He was sent to London in 1775, and educated at Edinburgh and Leyden universities. In 1782 the Medical School of Harvard University was founded, and Dr. Waterhouse was one of the three professors in it, and remained in office until 1812. For twenty years he gave voluntary lectures to the Senior class in the College, on botany, which were published, with the synopsis of a larger course on natural history, in the *Anthology;*[4] and afterward (1811) in a pamphlet. When, in 1793–96, the nucleus of a mineralogical cabinet was formed by the gifts of Dr. Lettsom and the Hon. James Bowdoin (consisting of more than nine hundred specimens), Dr. Waterhouse was appointed keeper.[5]

William D. Peck[6] was born in Boston in 1763, graduated at Harvard College in 1782, and died in Cambridge in 1822. He tried to be a merchant, but his heart was not in the business. Self-taught, he became an eminent botanist and entomologist. He was the first professor of Natural History at Cambridge, holding office from 1805 to 1822. He published[7] a paper on four remarkable fishes, a description and history of the slug-worm, canker-worm, and lion-ant, and an account of the reputed sea-serpent; also remarks, in Latin, on the *kamellia japonica* and the *thea bohea*. His artistic talent was useful in enabling him to sketch the objects of his study, as is seen in the

[1] [See his family traced in the chapter on "Libraries." — Ed.]

[2] [See the present volume, p. 6, note. — Ed.]

[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, ii. 156; iii. 350.

[4] Vol. i. p. 308 (1804).

[5] [See the chapter on "Medicine" in the present volume. — Ed.]

[6] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x. 161.

[7] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, ii. 46 (1800); iv. 86, 103 (1818); *Mass. Mag.*, vi. 411; vii. 323, 415 (1795).

illustrations which accompany his publications. His father was an eminent naval architect, and built ships for the Government.[1] The son inherited his models and also his mechanical talent, and made a microscope and other instruments, which should help him in his studies. In 1818 he published a catalogue of American and foreign plants in the Botanic Garden. Before coming to Cambridge he had made collections at Kittery of insects, plants, fishes, and birds. For his valuable paper on the canker-worm he received a gold medal from the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

In 1785 Robert Annan of Boston described the skeleton of a large animal found near Hudson River. In 1786 the Hon. James Warren of Milton published a paper on the effect of light upon vegetation. In 1788 the Hon. Timothy Edwards of Stockbridge gave an account of a large bone or horn found in his neighborhood. In 1791 the Rev. Asa Packard of Marlborough wrote briefly upon the retreat of swallows in winter. In the same year an anonymous article appeared,[2] "On the Influence of Air upon Vegetation."

In 1794 Professor Williams, formerly the Cambridge astronomer, published a work *On the Natural and Civil History of Vermont*, which indicated his continued interest in science, and was highly praised by a competent authority.

Thaddeus M. Harris was born in Charlestown in 1768, and graduated at Harvard College in 1787. At first he taught school in Worcester, and then was invited to be private secretary to Washington; but he declined the offer, and was appointed librarian of the College, and remained in that office from 1791 to 1793. He was settled as a minister in Dorchester in 1793, and died there in 1842. Dr. Harris published in 1820 a book on the *Natural History of the Bible*, and in 1806 a short paper[3] on shells found in Dorchester.

John Lowell (son of the Judge) was born in Newburyport in 1769,[4] and graduated at Harvard College in 1786. He was a highly gifted lawyer in Boston, but retired from practice in 1803, and gave much of his time to advancing the intelligence and prosperity of the city. He inherited a taste for botany, horticulture, and agriculture; and co-operated with his father's efforts to establish the Botanic Garden at Cambridge. He was a member of the Linnæan Society, and took an active part in its proceedings, communicating a paper on some of the customs of the Italians and Romans.

J. C. Warren was born in Boston in 1778, and graduated at Harvard College in 1797. He studied medicine with his father, and then went to London and Paris to complete his professional studies. He began to practise in Boston in 1802. He was assistant professor in the Medical School from 1806 to 1815, and then succeeded his father to the place which he filled until 1847.[5] He remained an honorary professor till his death, in 1856. As a surgeon he had the highest reputation of any one in New England, — being equally remarkable for his skill and courage. After his retirement in 1847 he devoted himself to natural history and to the interests of the Boston Society of Natural History, of which he was president. He made large collections in anatomy, osteology, and fossils, and formed the Warren Museum, — the central figure in it being the great mastodon from Newburgh. In 1854 he published *Remarks on some Fossil Impressions in the Sandstone Rocks of Connecticut River*. In 1852 he

[1] [See Admiral Preble's chapter in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] *Mass. Mag.*, i. 768.

[3] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iii. 159. [See his portrait in Vol. III. p. 593. — Ed.]

[4] [See his portrait in the present volume, p. 285. — Ed.]

[5] [See the chapter on "Medicine" in the present volume, and the notes on his family, Vol. III. p. 61. — Ed.]

published an account of the *Mastodon Giganteus* of North America, with twenty-seven plates; and a second edition in 1856, with thirty plates. Only a week before his death he gave the finishing touch to a memoir on the *Argonauta*, numerous species of which he had collected, described, and delineated. Although seventy years old when he retired from his weighty duties as professor and principal surgeon of the Massachusetts General Hospital, he pursued the studies of his leisure with all his early vigor and enthusiasm.

Thomas Cole was born in Boston in 1779, and graduated at Harvard College in 1798. His profession was that of a teacher. He was at first principal of an academy in Marblehead, and from 1808 to 1835 conducted a school for young ladies in Salem. A disease of the heart compelling him, in 1835, to relinquish the labor and anxiety of his school, he devoted his time to the pursuit of natural history, which was always congenial to his taste. His special study was on the infusoria; and he became an expert in the use of the microscope upon these and other objects which he examined. He was a member of the American Academy and the Essex Institute,[1] and contributed to their *Proceedings*. In 1850 he communicated to the Institute a paper giving a historical sketch of investigations of the infusoria, to which was appended a catalogue of the infusoria found in the neighborhood of Salem. This was printed in the first volume of the *Proceedings* of the Essex Institute. He was highly valued by all who could appreciate zeal and scholarship, and died greatly lamented in 1852.

Parker C. Cleaveland was born in Rowley in 1780, graduated at Harvard College in 1799, was tutor in the College from 1803 to 1805, was professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Bowdoin College from 1805 to 1828, and of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1828 to 1855. He died in 1858. In mineralogy he had no equal in his day, and is regarded as the father of American mineralogy. In 1808 he made a short communication on fossil shells found in the neighborhood of Brunswick; but he is best known by his treatise on *Mineralogy and Geology*, editions of which appeared in 1816, 1822, and 1856. He also published an account of halos and parhelia seen in Brunswick in 1815 and 1818.[2]

George Osgood was born at Fair Haven in 1784. He studied medicine with his father, attending the medical lectures at Cambridge, and occasionally teaching in the district schools. In 1805 he began the practice of his profession in Danvers, where he remained until his death in 1863. In early life he resided for a few years in Hamilton, and, like many others, was inspired by Dr. Cutler with that love of nature and of botany which he carried through his long life. Without being a scientific botanist, he had an extensive knowledge of the flora of his neighborhood, which he made very useful to Dr. Bigelow and others who were studying the subject systematically.

Chester Dewey was born in Sheffield, Mass., in 1784, graduated at Williams College in 1806, was tutor and professor there for nineteen years, and at Rochester, N. Y., from 1850 to his death in 1867. The interval from 1825 to 1850 was also devoted to teaching. For fifty years he was a frequent contributor to the *American Journal of Science*. His duties as professor brought him into closer contact with physical and chemical science than with natural history, and he wrote upon it, particularly upon meteorology;[3] but his inclination was decidedly towards botany, and he made the report upon the *Herbaceous Flowering Plants of Massachusetts*. He selected for special study the genus Carex, followed it up in successive publications for forty-three years, and became a "leading authority" upon it.

[1] *Proceedings*, i. 33. [2] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, iii. 155, and iv. 120. [3] Ibid., iv. 387.

Andrew Nichols was born in Danvers in 1785. Until he was eighteen years old he worked upon his father's farm, attending only the district school. His love of nature led him to aspire to the profession of medicine. After spending two years at the Andover Academy he began to study for this profession in 1805, and in 1808 started his practice in Danvers, which he continued until his death in 1853. He was familiar with the flora and fauna of his neighborhood, and published some papers on the "Batrachians" in the *Journal* of the Essex Institute.

Thomas Nuttall was born of humble parents in England in 1786. He was a printer by trade, and emigrated to this country in 1808. He probably brought with him a taste for natural history, but his knowledge was acquired here, and mostly by his own wide explorations, which began within two years of his arrival. He was familiar with mineralogy and ornithology, but his strength was in botany. In 1822 he was appointed curator of the Botanic Garden in Cambridge, and held the place for ten years. Then he resumed his wanderings across the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California, and on the Pacific Ocean. He returned to England in 1842, where he died in 1859. The fruits of his studies were published in this country by the American Academy and the Philosophical Society, and in separate works. His *Remarks and Inquiries Concerning the Birds of Massachusetts* was printed in Cambridge in 1833.[1] Dr. Gray said of him: "Altogether, the name of Nuttall must ever stand very high among the pioneers of botanical science in the United States."

Jacob Bigelow was born in Sudbury in 1787, and graduated at Harvard College in 1806. From 1810 to his death in 1879 he resided in Boston, and attained the highest rank as a scientific physician. He was professor in the Medical School from 1815 to 1855; and Rumford Professor, on the application of science to the arts of life, from 1816 to 1827. Though having many claims on the gratitude of this city, he is here to be remembered for his devotion to natural history. For three years he gave lectures on botany, partly in conjunction with Professor Peck. In 1814 he published a description of the native plants of Boston and the environs, which passed through three editions. In 1817 he began to publish the *American Medical Botany*, which was completed in three volumes in 1820. But his profession and natural history combined did not exhaust the fertility of his knowledge. In 1829 he published *Elements of Technology*, and a second edition in 1840, under the title of *The Useful Arts*, — the fruits of his Rumford lectures.

J. E. Teschemacher was born in England in 1790. He came to this country in 1832, and finally settled in Boston, where he lived twenty-two years, until his death in 1853. He exhibited at an early age a love of nature, and devoted whatever leisure he could extract from a busy mercantile life to the study of natural history, and made himself a good botanist and an accomplished mineralogist. He had an intimate acquaintance with agriculture and horticulture. His latest investigations were instituted with a view to ascertain from what kind of plants coal had been formed; and to this end he had collected an immense number of rich specimens. He was a member of the two principal scientific societies of Boston, and contributed to their Transactions. His addresses before the Boston Society of Natural History, the Horticultural Society, and the Harvard Natural History Society have been published.

Francis Boott was born in Boston in 1792, and graduated at Harvard College in 1810. After spending four years in Europe he returned to this country in 1814, and spent the largest part of the next six years in studying the botany of New England. In

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 91.

1816 he undertook with Dr. Bigelow a botanical exploration of the mountains of New England, ascending Wachuset, Monadnock, Ascutney, and Mount Washington. In 1820 he went to England, and took a degree as Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh in 1824. After studying in the schools of medicine and natural history in Paris, he settled in London as a physician, where he died in 1863. He also lectured on botany, and in one branch of it he was unrivalled. The last six years of his life were devoted to publishing his great work, at his own expense, entitled *Illustrations of the Genus Carex*, on which he had expended many years of labor, and money without stint. At an early period he was invited to the chair of Natural History in Harvard College, but family ties bound him to England.

B. D. Greene [1] was born in Demerara in 1793, while his parents were temporarily absent from Boston, and graduated at Harvard College in 1812. He first studied law and was admitted to the Boston Bar; but his taste for natural history inclined him towards medicine, which he studied in the schools of Paris and Scotland, and in which he took his degree at Edinburgh in 1821. Not needing his profession for his support, he had the leisure and the means to cultivate his scientific tastes. His favorite study was botany. He surrounded himself with an extensive herbarium and a valuable botanical library, not merely for his private use, but for the service of investigators in the country. He did not write for the public, for he was a silent student of nature, and shrank from popular applause; but he rendered a great service to naturalists by his sympathy, his example, and his influence. He was the first president of the Society of Natural History, and made it the recipient of his books and his collections, and also of a generous legacy when he died in 1862.

In the order of time a geologist now appears who, if Boston did nothing for him, did much himself for the scientific reputation of the whole State. Edward Hitchcock was born at Deerfield in 1793. At the academy of his native village he exhibited a love for mathematics and science in general, and served there as the principal from 1815 to 1818. Then he studied theology at New Haven, and was settled in Conway, Mass., from 1821 to 1825. In 1825 he was called to the chair of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, where he remained until his death in 1864. During ten years of this period he served as its president. He was a laborious worker and writer, and produced sixteen volumes and pamphlets, and contributed fifty-three papers to the scientific journals, the most important of which relate to geology. An attempt at a State geological survey had been made by North Carolina. With this exception the two geological surveys of Massachusetts in 1832 and 1837, suggested and executed by Professor Hitchcock, set the example for a brilliant array of similar State and Territorial surveys, equally beneficial to science and to the community, illustrating the natural history and developing the resources of the whole country. Professor Hitchcock's study of fossil foot-prints was embodied, after thirteen years, in a paper published by the American Academy in 1848, with twenty-four plates; but the treasury of the Commonwealth has been freely opened for printing and embellishing his voluminous reports on the geology and ichnology of the State. As one of the principal pioneers in the geology of New England, he deserves a place in this memorial.

In 1818 Dr. J. F. Dana and Dr. S. L. Dana (brothers) made a joint contribution to the *Memoirs* [2] of the American Academy, entitled "Outlines of the Mineralogy and

[1] [He was a son of Gardiner Greene, and married a daughter of Josiah Quincy. - Ed.]

[2] Vol. iv. pp. 129–223.

Geology of Boston and its Vicinity, with a Geological Map." Dr. S. L. Dana was born at Groton in 1795; graduated at Harvard College in 1813, and at the Medical School in 1818. He practised his profession for a time in Gloucester and Waltham; but chemistry had stronger attractions for him, and he engaged in the manufacture of vitriol and other chemicals. In 1833 he was appointed chemist of the Merrimac Print-Works, and removed to Lowell, where he died in 1868. In the application of his science to art, he invented a new process for bleaching, known as the American method, an account of which was published by a foreign society in 1836. Whatever he touched he improved. His inventions in calico-printing led to an interest in agriculture, where he also found room for his science. In 1839–40 he delivered lectures on the Chemistry of Agriculture, which were printed under the title of *A Muck Manual for Farmers*. The Massachusetts Agricultural Society awarded him a prize for his *Essay on Manures*. A competent judge has said of him: "In point of time, originality, and ability, Dr. Dana stood first among scientific writers on agriculture in this country."

T. W. Harris was born in Dorchester in 1795. He graduated at Harvard College in 1815, and at the Medical School in 1820. From this time until 1831 he practised in his profession at Milton. He was librarian at the College from 1831 to his death in 1856, and for part of the time gave instruction in natural history. Though harassed by incessant cares he acquired an enviable reputation as a naturalist, at home and abroad. He was a most conscientious observer, and gifted with the power of making a faithful and intelligible transcript of what he saw, by pen and pencil. His specialty was entomology, in which he had no equal; and his report to the Legislature in 1841 on insects injurious to vegetation testifies to his industry and patience, his accurate eye and his facility of description. He was at home in other branches of natural history (especially in botany), and published fifty papers upon them. At the time of his death he had been engaged upon the study of the origin of cultivated plants, and man's agency in their distribution. Three editions (in 1842, 1852, and 1862) were published of his *Insects of New England Injurious to Vegetation*. To say that his merits were equal to his modesty, is to award him the highest praise.

Since the sounds of Boston's last great celebration died upon the ear, it has lost one of its best citizens, having many claims upon its gratitude in addition to the encouragement which he gave to the love of Nature. G. B. Emerson was born in Wells, Me., in 1797, graduated at Harvard College in 1817, and was tutor in mathematics there from 1819 to 1821. He was the first principal of the High School of Boston, then teacher of his own private school for young ladies, and always devoted to the interests of education throughout the State.[1] Before coming to college he was familiar with the trees, plants, and shrubs around his home, and was eager to read all books on botany that were within his reach. When, in 1837, a movement was made by the Society of Natural History to induce the Legislature to authorize a zoölogical and botanical survey of the State, as the fitting complement to the geological survey, Mr. Emerson was selected to represent the society, of which he was then the president. The Government responded promptly to the appeal, and Governor Everett requested Mr. Emerson to recommend persons fitted to conduct such a survey. The members of the society were anxious that Mr. Emerson himself should take part in it, and he was induced to divide the botany with Professor Dewey. He devoted the summer vacation for nine years to explorations through the State, the issue of which was his

[1] [See the chapter on "Education" in the present volume. — Ed.]

admirable *Report on the Trees and Shrubs of Massachusetts*, published in 1846. In 1875 Mr. Emerson published a new edition, elegantly illustrated with colored plates. He died in 1881.

F. W. P. Greenwood was born in Boston in 1797, graduated at Harvard College in 1814, and at the Divinity School in 1817. He was settled at first in Baltimore, and afterward in Boston, where he died in 1843. His fine, sensitive constitution was in harmony with the wonders and beauties of nature, and he made a special study of conchology and botany. Dr. Greenwood was an active and highly esteemed member of the Society of Natural History, and made frequent contributions to its Proceedings.

Silas Durkee was born in Hanover, N. H., in 1798, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1822, and then studied medicine. He practised his profession in Portsmouth until 1841, when he removed to Boston, where he died in 1878. He devoted the leisure of a full and successful professional life to marine botany and entomology, and was an honorary member of the Natural History Society at Montreal and the State Society of New York.

W. B. O. Peabody was born in Exeter, N. H., in 1799, graduated at Harvard College in 1816, and at the Divinity School in 1819. He was settled in Springfield in 1820, where he died in 1847. Outside of his profession Dr. Peabody was interested in natural history, and was selected by Governor Everett to make the report upon the ornithology of Massachusetts.

William Oakes was born in Danvers in 1799, graduated at Harvard College in 1820, and at the Law School in 1825. After an experience of two or three years at Ipswich, he left the practice of the law and devoted himself until his death, in 1848, to the study of natural history, and became the most eminent botanist of his day in New England. While in college he received his first impulse towards this study from Professor Peck. He collected with his own hands specimens of almost every New England plant, making explorations of the White Mountains in 1830 and again in 1842, and attending to the geology and mineralogy as well as to the botany. He prepared a catalogue of the plants of Vermont for Thompson's History of that State, and in 1848 he published *Scenery of the White Mountains*, with sixteen plates; but he was too cautious a student to rush precipitately before the public, and his great legacy to science is his collection of beautiful specimens, with his notes and descriptions, forever paying their silent tribute to his zeal and acquisitions.

What is called the Physics of the Globe may be ranked under the head of Physics or of Natural History, according to the way in which the subject is treated. It is only within a few years that systematic observations in meteorology, and often with self-registering instruments, have superseded the desultory labor of amateurs and revealed the law of the winds and the law of storms. Nevertheless, the history of the weather in this vicinity is more complete than for any other place on this continent, and is equalled by that of few places in Europe.

Mr. Thomas Brattle was one of the earliest observers in this field.[1] The observations of Winthrop, from 1742 to 1779, of Wigglesworth, from 1782 to 1793, of Webber, from 1790 to 1807, supplemented by those of Farrar and Bond, record the tem-

[1] *Phil. Trans.*, xl.

perature and pressure of the air at Cambridge for more than a century. Dr. Enoch Hale's (1790–1848) observations in Boston comprise the period from 1818 to 1848; and those of J. P. Hall (1799–1866) extend from 1821 to 1866.[1] At Salem Dr. Holyoke (1728–1829) kept a meteorological journal from 1786 to 1821, and with less fulness to 1829.[2] If the ordinary march of the atmospheric changes did not escape notice, it is certain that no extraordinary aspect of the sky would pass unheeded. Such were the dark days of 1716, 1780, 1785, and 1819, surpassing in gloom that of 1881. Such were the earthquakes of 1638, 1658, 1663, 1727, and 1755. The last was the occasion of a lecture given by Professor Winthrop in the college chapel. The Rev. Thomas Prince, of the Old South Church, took the same occasion to reprint a sermon which first appeared in connection with the earthquake of 1727. He indulged in some reflections[3] on Mr. Winthrop for diverting the minds of the people, by his physical explanation, from the moral consideration suggested by the extraordinary season. Mr. Winthrop said, in reply, that the season was no more extraordinary when he gave his lecture than when Dr. Prince reprinted his sermon, with an elaborate appendix, — both the sermon and the appendix entering largely, if not deeply, into a material explanation of the event. Professor Williams made a careful study of the twenty-four earthquakes felt in this vicinity during the last century.[4]

Since the first aurora borealis was observed in Boston, Dec. 17, 1719, a record has been kept at Cambridge of similar displays, amounting to about seven hundred; and the theory of Mairan in regard to the periodicity of the Northern Lights has been corroborated.[5]

A knowledge of the declination of the magnetic needle and its changes is indispensable at sea, and of no small importance on land, especially in a country where the original surveys were made by compass. The observations of Brattle, Winthrop, Williams, Willard, Sewall, Bowditch, and Bond, at Cambridge, Salem, or Boston, have preserved the history of these changes since 1708. Professor Sewall (1734–1804) was an indefatigable observer. "Often in my youth," says Mr. Sydney Willard,[6] "I saw Mr. Sewall passing slowly by the President's house, crippled, tottering, and tremulous from debility, steadying himself by the fence, and now and then stopping at the President's to communicate his magnetic observations."

The limits prescribed to this paper make it necessary to omit everything but the names of the scientific men who were born in and around Boston since 1800, but who have finished their work on earth. In many cases their names alone are sufficient to indicate who they were to the present generation. The reputation of not a few is world-wide. All of them were members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, or of the Boston Society of Natural History, or of both. Extended notices of their lives and labors may be found in the publications of these societies. Arranged chronologically, there have been in (1) *Mathematics and Astronomy*, Sears C. Walker, Benjamin Peirce, George P. Bond, Joseph Win-

[1] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, vi. 229.
[2] Ibid., ii. 89; iv. 361, and i. 107.
[3] *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 26, 1755.
[4] *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, i. 260.
[5] Ibid., ix. 101.
[6] *Memories of Youth, etc.*, i. 125.

lock, Chauncey Wright, and W. P. G. Bartlett; (2) *Physics and Chemistry*, Francis Peabody, Joseph H. Abbot, Martin Gay, Henry C. Perkins, Charles T. Jackson, Charles H. Davis, J. H. Temple, and Charles G. Page; (3) *Natural History*, James Deane, Amos Binney, A. A. Gould, Charles Pickering, J. B. S. Jackson, Louis Agassiz, Francis Alger, Joseph P. Couthouy, John L. Russell, J. W. Bailey, T. M. Brewer, Jeffries Wyman, Henry Bryant, Louis F. de Pourtalès, J. B. Perry, Henry J. Clark, W. I. Burnett, Edwin Bicknell, and R. H. Wheatland.

In reviewing the ground covered by this memorial, the reader will notice that a taste for mathematics and physical science was developed at an earlier period than the love of natural history; but the latter has grown to be a formidable rival. A large part of the work done in science in every field has been accomplished by amateurs otherwise engaged in earning a support. In the last century and before, it was the clergy, — at a later period it was the physicians, — who recruited the ranks of scientific men.

This is a memorial of the dead and not of the living. Even the names will be missed here of veterans in science whose reputation has crossed the ocean and is an honor to the places that can claim them; but happily they still live, and must wait for the appendix which 1930 will bring to these volumes. The coming jubilee is full of promise for science. Academies, societies, observatories, laboratories, museums, libraries, journals, — all stand ready to lend a helping hand. These institutions are memorials of the science which is ripe for them and of the intelligent munificence which has endowed them. It would be invidious to name the largest benefactors unless there was room for all. Some have given of their poverty; others from their abundance. Praise to those who, when Boston was young, did what they could for science without these advantages! Discoveries can no longer be made by scratching on the surface of nature; delicate and costly instruments must be provided. Scientific men will furnish the nerves, if the wealth of the community will supply the sinews. Listen to the words of Washington addressed to the first Congress: "There is nothing that can better deserve your attentive patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in any country the surest basis of public happiness."

Joseph Lovering.

CHAPTER X.

MEDICINE IN BOSTON.

BY SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D.,
City Physician, and Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society;
WITH ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA
BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M.D.,
Parkman Professor of Anatomy in Harvard University.

THE need of a medical man to accompany the planters of Massachusetts Bay was recognized by the Company from the very outset. At one of its earliest meetings, held in London on March 5, 1628–29, it is recorded that a proposition was made "to Intertayne a surgeon for [the] plantacon," and Mr. Pratt "was ꝑpounded as an abell man" for the place. His given name was John, and after coming to New England he lived at one time in Cambridge. At the same meeting Robert Morley was appointed "to serue as a barber and a surgeon [on all] occasyons belonging to his Calling to aney of this [Company] that are planters, or there seruants." In those days a barber-surgeon attended to the ordinary cases of minor surgery, such as pulling teeth, bleeding, and cupping. This record furnishes the earliest official action taken by the Massachusetts Company to supply the colonists with medical attendance.

Before this time, however, the Puritans in England had been subjected to bitter persecution; and, foreseeing the possibility of an ejectment, a considerable number of their ministers had studied medicine. They saw the probable wants of the future, and fitted themselves, as best they could, for any emergency that might arise in a new settlement. Hence they formed a large proportion of the early physicians of the colony. These Puritan ministers were men of liberal education, and some of them authors of the earliest medical treatises printed in America. It was with them a matter of conscientious duty to heal the body as well as to save the soul. Each one practised in his own flock, and for his fee generally received that which is considered better than money, though not equally current at the counter. Occasionally they took part in the medical controversies of the day, and defended their views with much skill and ability. Cotton Mather speaks of this union of the two professions as an "Angelical Conjunction," and says that "ever since the Days of *Luke* the Evangelist, Skill in *Physick* has been frequently professed and practised by Persons whose more declared Business was the Study of *Divinity*."[1]

[1] *Magnalia*, book iii., chap. xxvi. p. 151.

At the period when Massachusetts was settled, medicine was an art rather than a science, and just ready to take a new departure under the guidance of Sydenham. Certain facts about disease were learned by rote, as it were, and the treatment was nearly the same in all cases without regard to the minute symptoms. The public believed in *specifics*, and remedies were prescribed as if they were infallible or sovereign. Says Shakespeare: —

> "The sovereign'st thing on earth
> Was parmaceti, for an inward bruise."

About this time there were in Europe two schools of medical practice, of which the one was in the habit of prescribing vegetable substances alone, and the other for the most part mineral preparations. The first of these schools was denominated the Galenists, as they were supposed to follow the teachings of Galen; and they might be termed the Botanic doctors of that day. The other school adopted the doctrines of Paracelsus, and gave "chemical" medicines, which included mineral substances and a few of the most active vegetable compounds. The supporters of the second school were sometimes called Chemists. There was of course a bitter rivalry between the two sects; and if everything that was said about the one by the other was true, the poor patients had to suffer. It is very likely that the prejudice existing to-day against mineral medicines dates back to this hostility.

An advertisement in the *Boston Gazette*, June 19, 1744, speaks of "All Sorts of Drugs and Medicines, both Chymical and Galenical," — an allusion to these two schools.

The early physicians of New England, however, do not seem to have entered into this medical controversy, but gave such remedies as they saw fit, without regard to either faction, though they followed a routine practice. The relation of cause and effect was slighted by them, and an air of mystery and superstition pervaded the whole domain of therapeutics. The literature of the profession was scanty, and for that reason easily mastered. They had no knowledge of pathology, and but little of anatomy. It must not be forgotten that there were but few regular graduates of medicine in the country for more than a hundred years after its settlement. Dr. William Douglass, a young Scotchman who had just begun practice in Boston, writing to Cadwallader Colden, of New York, under date of Feb. 20, 1720–21, says that "we abound with Practitioners, though no other graduate than myself. We have fourteen Apothecary shops in Boston. All our Practitioners dispense their own medicines." [1]

The remedies used by the early practitioners of Massachusetts were made up largely of "simples," as they were called in contradistinction to compounds, and consisted principally of herbs dear to old women, though none the less valuable on that account. Occasionally they strike us as absurd, and sometimes excite feelings akin to disgust. Excretions and secretions

[1] 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ii. 164.

were employed as curative agents, and had their particular parts to play in the treatment of disease. These remedies were prescribed at times by the best physicians two hundred years ago. When Charles II. was on his death-bed, according to Macaulay, he was bled largely, and a loathsome volatile salt, extracted from human skulls, was forced into his mouth.

John Winthrop, the founder of Boston and Governor of Massachusetts, was well versed in medicine; but his public services to the colony were so marked that his minor ministrations among friends and neighbors are thrown into the background. The venerable Cotton says of him just before his death, that he had been a "*Help* for our *Bodies* by *Physick*, for our *Estates* by *Law*." [1]

His son, John Winthrop, Jr., for some years an inhabitant of Massachusetts and afterward Governor of Connecticut, was a noted physician.[2] He was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society of London, and an accomplished scholar. He had a large correspondence with scientific men, from which many interesting facts are gathered about medicine in the early history of the colony. A third generation of the family, represented in the person of Wait Winthrop, a son of John, Jr., was also proficient in the profession. In Cotton Mather's sermon preached at his funeral, Nov. 7, 1717, there is an "Epitaphium," from which the following is an extract: —

MEDICINÆ Peritus ;

Qui Arcanis vere Aureis, et Auro preciosioribus potitus ;
Quæque et *Hippocratem* et *Helmontium* latuerunt,
Remedia panacæasque Adeptus ;
Invalidos omnes ubicunque sine pretio sanitati restituit ;
Et pene omnem Naturam fecit Medicam.

Among those who came over in Winthrop's fleet was Richard Palgrave, a physician, from Stepney, London. He settled in Charlestown, though neither himself nor his wife was ever connected with the church in that town. Their ecclesiastical relations were always with Boston, where those of their children who were born in this country were baptized. He lived about twenty years after coming to New England.

Another passenger in the same fleet was William Gager, one of the deacons of the Charlestown Church, whom Governor Dudley styles "a right godly man, skilful chyrurgeon," but who unfortunately died soon after his arrival.

Another among the early settlers of Massachusetts who practised medicine was Giles Firmin, Jr., who came to this country in 1632. His father — "a godly man, an apothecary of Sudbury in England," according to Winthrop — arrived here about the same time; and in some accounts the two have been confounded from the similarity of their names. It is very likely that the elder Giles was a medical practitioner. The son did not long remain in Boston, but soon returned to England; coming again, however, to these shores a few years subsequently. He had studied for a while at the

[1] *Magnalia*, book ii., chap. iv. p. 15. [2] See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1862.

University of Cambridge, and was learned in medicine. He is the first man known to have taught in New England this branch of science, and he seems to have left a professional imprint on the minds of his students. A little later he removed to Ipswich, where he was widely known as a successful physician. His practice does not appear to have been a lucrative one, for he writes to Winthrop some years afterward: "I am strongly sett upon to studye divinitie, my studies else must be lost; for physick is but a meene helpe."[1] Subsequently he carried this plan into execution, and studied theology; after which he returned to England, where he was ordained, and settled as a rector. Nevertheless he continued to practise his early profession.

The Apostle Eliot, under date of Sept. 24, 1647, writes to Mr. Shepard, the minister of Cambridge, and expresses the desire that —

"Our young Students in Physick may be trained up better than yet they bee, who have onely theoreticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practice before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. *Giles Firman* (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now."[2]

An "anatomy" is the old name for a skeleton, and Mr. Firmin may be considered, in point of time, the first medical lecturer in the country. His instruction must have been crude, and comprised little more than informal talks about the dry bones before him; but even this might be a great help to the learners. At any rate it seems to have excited an interest in the subject, for the recommendation is made, at the session of the General Court beginning Oct. 27, 1647, a few weeks later than the date of Eliot's letter, that —

"We conceive it very necessary y^t^ such as studies phisick, or chirurgery, may have liberty to reade anotomy, and to anotomize once in foure yeares some malefactor, in case there be such as the Courte shall allow of."[3]

Charles Chauncy, that stern Puritan, President of Harvard College, and also Leonard Hoar, who succeeded him in the presidency, were regular graduates of medicine at Cambridge in England. Chauncy left six sons, all of whom were educated at Harvard College and became preachers. "They had," says Cotton Mather, "an Eminent Skill in *Physick* added unto their other Accomplishments; which, like *him* [their father], they used for the Good of many; as, indeed, it is well known that, until Two Hundred Years ago, *Physick* in *England* was no Profession distinct from Divinity."[4] John Rogers, the fifth president of the college, was also a practitioner of medicine. Hoar was the first president who was a graduate of the institution, but Rogers was an earlier graduate who became its president afterward.

Elisha Cooke was a prominent physician as well as a politician of this

[1] Hutchinson's *Collection of Original Papers*, etc., p. 109.

[2] 3 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iv. 57.

[3] *General Court Records*, ii. 176.

[4] Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, book iii., chap. xxiii. p. 140.

period.[1] He was born in Boston, Sept. 16, 1637, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1657, being one of the first natives of the town that studied medicine. While esteemed as a physician, his reputation is based more on his labors in connection with the body politic than the body physical. He died Oct. 31, 1715, having filled many public positions of trust and honor.

John Dunton, who came to New England in the spring of 1686, wrote home some interesting letters which were published. They contain considerable gossip about men and things in the colony at that time, and refer in particular to two Boston physicians. Dr. Thomas Oakes — a brother of President Oakes, and a graduate of Harvard College — Dunton calls "the greatest Æsculapius of the Countrey," and says that —

"His wise and safe Prescriptions have expell'd more Diseases and rescu'd Languishing Patients from the Jaws of Death, than Mountebanks and Quack-Salvers have sent to those dark Regions: And on that score, Death has declar'd himself his Mortal Enemy: Whereas Death claims a Relation to those Pretenders to Physick, as being both of one Occupation, viz.: that of Killing Men." [2]

In speaking of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, afterward Governor Andros's attorney-general,[3] he writes that —

"His Skill in Pharmacy was such, as rendered him the most compleat Pharmacopean, not only in all Boston, but in all New England; and is beside, as much a Gentleman as any one in all the Countrey." . . . "He is as intimate with Gallen and Hypocrates (at least ways with their works), as ever I have been with you, Even in our most Familiar Converse. And is so conversant with the great variety of Nature, that not a Drug or Simple can Escape him; whose Power and Vertues are known so well to him, he needs not Practise new Experiments upon his Patients, except it be in desperate Cases, when Death must be expell'd by Death. This also is Praise-worthy in him, That to the Poor he always prescribes cheap, but wholesome Medicines, not curing them of a Consumption in their Bodies, and sending it into their Purses; nor yet directing them to the East-Indies to look for Drugs, when they may have far better out of their Gardens." [4]

The opportunities for successful imposition in the treatment of disease were unusually favorable in the early days of the colony; and the quacks were not slow to avail themselves of the chances. During the first winter at Boston, the court of assistants fined Nicholas Knopp five pounds

". . . for takeing vpon him to cure the scurvey by a water of noe worth nor value, which he solde att a very deare rate, to bee imprisoned till hee pay his ffine or giue securytie for it, or els to be whipped and shalbe lyable to any mans accõn of whome hee hath receaued money for the s[d] water." [5]

The record, however, does not state which dose he took in the way of punishment; but as three pounds of the fine were subsequently remitted, it

[1] [See Vols. I. and II., Index. — Ed.]
[2] *The Publications of the Prince Society*, iv. 93.
[3] [See Vol. II., Index. — Ed.]
[4] *The Publications of the Prince Society*, iv. 94–96.
[5] *General Court Records*, i. 67.

is fair to infer that he was not whipped. If we now had as wise legislation in regard to medicine, there would be less quackery in the community. By a law passed a few years later, regulating the precedence of passengers in ferry-boats, preference was given to public personages, and to "Physitians, Chirurgeons, and Midwives."

The colonial authorities appear to have taken steps, at an early day, to guard against the introduction of infectious and contagious diseases from foreign ports. An order was passed by the General Court, at the session beginning in March, 1647–48, which established a strict quarantine over all vessels coming from the West India Islands. It prohibited the landing of persons or goods from such vessels, until the council saw fit to decree otherwise. At that time "y^e^ plague or like in[fectious] disease" — perhaps yellow fever — was raging in some of these islands, and this fact was the cause of the order. During the session beginning May, 1649, one year afterward, it is recorded that —

"The Courte doth thinke meete, that the order, concerning the stoping of West India ships at the Castle should hereby be repealed seeing it hath pleased God to stay the sicknes there." [1]

No further sanitary regulations are recorded until Oct. 11, 1665, when a warrant was issued by the General Court, ordering all vessels coming from England to be placed in quarantine. This order was due to the prevalence of the "plague" in London at that time; but it was repealed just two years afterward, owing to the disappearance of the disease. The quarantine grounds then were near the Castle. These two orders appear to have been made to meet special emergencies; but they comprise the whole legislation of the seventeenth century, so far as it relates to quarantine in Massachusetts.

It is said that the first appearance of yellow fever in what is now the United States occurred during the summer of 1693, at Boston, where it had been brought from Barbadoes. A fleet, under the command of Sir Francis Wheeler, arrived in the early summer of that year, after an unsuccessful attempt on the island of Martinico. Chief-Justice Sewall alludes to this fleet in his diary,[2] under date of June 13, when he says that "severall of the Frigotts come up above Long Island;" though he does not mention whence they came. It is probable that they had arrived within a few days. A short time afterward he records that —

"Last night Tim^o^ Wadsworth's man dies of the Fever of the Fleet, as is supposed, he having been on board and in the Hold of some ship. Town is much startled at it."

Still later, under date of July 24, he writes: —

"Capt. Turell is buried. Mr. Joseph Dassett was buried yesterday, being much lamented. Jn.^o^ Shove and —— Saxton died before, all of the Fleet-Fever, as is

[1] *General Court Records*, ii. 238. [2] 5 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v. 379.

suposed; besides others. The Town is much startled. Capt. Byfield speaks of removing his wife and daughters to Bristow. One of the Fleet-Women dies this day, July 24, 1693, at David Johnson's, over against the Town-house.

"July 25. Three Carpenters die.

"July 26. Dr. Pemberton dies. Persons are generally under much consternation, which Mr. Willard takes notice of in his Prayer."

At irregular intervals after this time, quarantine laws were passed or modified to meet the needs of the public. A necessary adjunct to such legislation was a hospital; and as early as the summer of 1716 a committee of the General Court was appointed to select a location for such a building. In due time they reported on two sites, — Spectacle Island and Squantum Neck; but as the owner of the island would not sell it at a fair price, they recommended Squantum as the proper place. A strong protest to this proposition, however, came from the towns of Dorchester, Braintree, and Milton, and that project was abandoned; but during the next year a quarantine hospital was built on Spectacle Island, which was used for infectious diseases until the year 1737, when the establishment was transferred to Rainsford Island, where it remained until the year 1849. It was then established on Deer Island, where it was kept until April, 1867, when it was removed to Gallop's Island, at which place the quarantine buildings for the port of Boston are now situated.

In the year 1649 a law was passed which is commendatory to the wisdom of that time. It regulated, within certain limits, the practice of medicine and surgery, and required the practitioner to act according to the most approved precepts of the art in each domain. It was a salutary enactment, so far as it went; but it afforded only a slight protection against the deficiencies of the profession. It was like leaning on a broken reed, however, since it made no provision for educating medical men, and established no test of their qualifications. The attempt, however, is worthy of notice as being the first one, on the part of the colonial authorities, to restrain the quackery of the day. The tendency of the law was to confine the profession to skilled persons; and it must be granted that the whole medical legislation of that period was in the interest of sound learning, as understood at the time. The present generation will do well if, tried by the standard two centuries hence, they display as much common-sense in such matters as was shown by the founders of the colony.

The character of the diseases that prevailed in the early days of the colony was substantially the same, though not entirely, as nowadays. It is known that intermittent fever often occurred in certain sections of Massachusetts where now it is never seen.

The Rev. Mr. Danforth of Roxbury, during the winter of 1660, makes the following entry in the church records: "The Lord was pleased to visite vs, with epidemical colds, coughs, agues, and fevers."[1] Under date of Sept. 8, 1671, he says furthermore: "This summer many were visited with y^e^

[1] P. 199.

ague and fever." And again the next year, September 11, he records: "Agues and fevers prevailed much among vs about y^e^ Bay, and fluxes and vomiting at Boston." These extracts are taken from the printed edition.

John Josselyn wrote *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, which was published at London in the year 1674. He speaks of arriving at Boston, Sept. 1, 1671, and finding "the Inhabitants exceedingly afflicted with griping of the guts, and Feaver, and Ague, and bloody Flux."[1] The plain Anglo-Saxon word used as a synonyme of the intestinal canal has gone down in the language, and become indelicate to this generation.

The women had their representatives in the profession in olden times as well as in our day, though they were not so strenuous in regard to their political rights as their modern sisters are. Anne Hutchinson was among the earliest of the sisterhood who practised medicine in Massachusetts. She came to Boston in the year 1636; and in *A Short Story*, etc., by Thomas Welde[2] (London, 1644), she is spoken of as a person "very helpfull in the times of child-birth, and other occasions of bodily infirmities, and well furnished with means for those purposes."[3]

In the Roxbury *Church Records*, under date of Nov. 27, 1665, Mr. Danforth, the minister, writes: —

"M^rs^ Sarah Alcock dyed, a vertuous woman, of vnstained life, very skilful in physick & chirurgery, exceeding active, yea vnwearied in ministering to y^e^ necessities of others. Her workes praise her in y^e^ gates."[4]

Her husband was a physician, and he is mentioned in the next paragraph.

Two years later, March 27, 1667, it is recorded in the same book that "M^r^ John Alcock, Physician, dyed. His liver was dryed up and become schirrous."[5] Possibly an autopsy was made in this case.

The following quaint epitaph is found in the Phipps Street Burying-ground at Charlestown, and would seem to indicate that occasionally in early times midwives were commissioned to practise their calling. Some mischievous person has skilfully changed the number on the stone slab, so that 3,000 reads 130,000: —

Here lyes Interred y^e^ Body of
M^rs^ Elizabeth Phillips, Wife
to M^r^ Eleazer Phillips. Who
was Born in Westminster, in Great
Brittain. & Commission'd by John
Lord. Bishop. of London, in y^e^ Year
1718 to y^e^ Office of a Midwife; & came
to this Country, in y^e^ Year 1719. & by
y^e^ Blessing of God, has brought into
this world above 3000 Children:
Died May 6^th^ 1761. Aged 76 Years.

[1] P. 213. [2] [See on the authorship, Vol. I. p. 176. — Ed.] [3] P. 31.
[4] P. 203. [5] P. 205.

In the year 1648 Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was found guilty of witchcraft; and she was the first person hanged in New England for that offence.[1] She had been a practising physician, and her medicines, according to the best testimony of that period, had "extraordinary violent effects." It was said that "she would use to tell such as would not make use of her physic, that they would never be healed, and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapse against the ordinary course, and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons."

The earliest treatise on a medical subject published in this country was a broadside, twelve inches by seventeen in size, written by the Rev. Thomas Thacher, the first minister of the Old South. It bears date Jan. 21, 1677–78, and was printed and sold by John Foster, Boston. The title is, *A Brief Rule To guide the Common People of New England How to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pocks, or Measels.*[2] It was intended to furnish some popular hints in regard to the management of this disease, which was then much more prevalent than now. A second edition of this *Brief Rule* was printed in the year 1702.

The introduction of variolous inoculation was the most important event in the medical history of the Province; and in promoting it the ministers took a leading part. It occurred in the summer of 1721, when there was not a single practitioner of medicine in Boston, with the exception of Dr. William Douglass, who was a regularly graduated physician. Some of the ministers were the peers of the doctors in medical knowledge, though with less clinical experience. In this state of affairs, it can readily be understood that it was a "free fight," whenever there was a medical controversy. Dr. Douglass, the leader of the opponents of inoculation, was a Scotchman, who came to Boston in the year 1718. He received his medical education in Paris and Leyden; was a man of fine intellectual parts, and a versatile writer. He knew astronomy, and could calculate eclipses. He had a taste for natural history, and was withal an excellent botanist. He studied his medical cases, and took careful notes by the bedside. With a large practice, he wrote on a great variety of subjects, and it is not strange that occasionally he was inexact in his statements. It was wittily said of him, by some one, that he was always positive and sometimes accurate. He had little tact, and it is not surprising that he found himself continually in controversy. He died on Oct. 21, 1752, having passed his whole professional life in Boston, where he had much influence as a physician.[3]

The credit of the introduction of inoculation into this country is generally given to the Rev. Cotton Mather, who had read, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society at London, that this method was used in Turkey as a means of protection against small-pox. During a long time the practice had been kept up in Constantinople, where it was brought from

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 133. — Ed.]

[2] [The annexed fac-simile is of a copy, perhaps unique, belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. It has been once before reproduced. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II., Index. — Ed.]

A BRIEF RULE

To guide the Common-People of

NEW-ENGLAND

How to order themſelves and theirs in the

Small Pocks, or Meaſels.

THe *ſmall Pox* (whoſe nature and cure the *Meaſels* follow) is a diſeaſe in the blood, endeavouring to recover a new form and ſtate.

2. This nature attempts---1. By Separation of the impure from the pure, thruſting it out from the Veins to the Fleſh.---2. By driving out the impure from the Fleſh to the Skin.

3. The firſt Separation is done in the firſt four dayes by a Feaveriſh boyling (Ebullition) of the Blood, laying down the impurities in the Fleſhy parts which kindly effected the Feaveriſh tumult is calmed.

4. The ſecond Separation from the Fleſh to the Skin, or *Superficies* is done through the reſt of the time of the diſeaſe.

5 There are ſeveral Errors in ordering theſe ſick ones in both theſe Operations of Nature which prove very dangerous and commonly deadly either by overmuch haſtening Nature beyond its own pace, or in hindering of it from its own vigorous operation.

6 The Separation by Ebullition in the Feaveriſh heat is over heightned by too much Clothes, too hot a room hot *Cordials*, as *Diaſcordium*, *Gaſcons powder* and ſuch like, for hence come *Phrenzies*, dangerous exceſſive ſweats, or the flowing of the Pocks into one overſpreading ſore, vulgarly called the Flox.

7 The ſame ſeperation is overmuch hindred by prepoſterous cooling that Feaveriſh boyling heat, by *bloodletting*, *Glyſters*, *Vomits*, *purges*, or *cooling medicines*. For though theſe many times haſten the coming forth of the *Pox*, yet they take away that ſupply which ſhould keep them out till they are ripe, wherefore they ſink in again to the deadly danger of the ſick.

8. If a *Phrenſie* happen, or through a *Plethory* (that is fulneſs of blood) the Circulation of the blood be hindred, and thereupon the whole maſs of blood choaked up, then either let blood, Or ſee that their diet, or medicines be not altogether cooling, but let them in no wiſe be heating, therefore let him lye no otherwiſe covered in his bed then he was wont in health: His Chamber not made hot with fire if the weather be temperate, let him drink ſmall Beer only warm'd with a Toſt let him ſup up thin *water-gruel*, or *water pottage* made only of Indian Flour and water, inſtead of *Oat-meal*: Let him eat *boild Apples*; But I would not adviſe at this time any medicine beſides. By this means that exceſſive *Ebullition* (or boyling of his blood) will by degrees abate, and the Symptoms ceaſe; If not, but the blood be ſo inraged that it will admit no delay, then either let blood (if Ago will bear it) or elſe give ſome notably cooling medicine, or refreſh him with more free Air.

9 But if the boiling of the blood be weak and dull that there is cauſe to fear it is not able to work a Separation as it's wont to be in ſuch as have been let blood, or are fat, or Flegmatick or brought low by ſome other ſickneſs or labour of the (*Conterebra*) running of the Reins, or ſome other Evacuation In ſuch Caſes, *Cordials* muſt drive them out, or they muſt dy

10. In time of driving out the *Pocks* from the Fleſh, here care muſt be had that the *Puſtules* keep out in a right meaſure till they have attain'd their end without going in again, for that is deadly.

11. In this time take heed when the *Puſtules* appear whilſt not yet ripe, leaſt by too much heat there ariſe a new *Ebullition* (or Feaveriſh boyling) for this troubles the driving out, or brings back the ſeparated parts into the blood, or the Fleſhy parts over heated are diſſolved from a right ſuppuration or laſtly the temper of the blood and tone of the Fleſh is ſo perverted that it cannot overcome and digeſt the matter driven out

12. Yet on the other hand the breaking out muſt not be hindred, by expoſing the ſick unto the cold. The degree of heat muſt be ſuch as is natural agrees with the temper of the fleſhy parts: That which exceeds or falls ſhort is dangerous: Therefore the ſeaſon of the year, Age of the ſick, and their manner of life here require a diſcreet and different Conſideration requiring the Counſel of an expert Phyſitian.

13. But if by any error a new *Ebullition* ariſeth, the ſame art muſt be uſed to allay it as is before expreſt.

14. If the *Puſtles* go in and a flux of the belly follows (for elſe there is no ſuch danger) then *Corrozals* are to be uſed, yet moderate and not too often for fear of new *Ebullition*

15 If much ſpitting (*Pyaliſmus*) follow you may hope all will go well, therefore by no means hinder it Only with warm ſmall Beer ſet their mouths be waſhed.

16. When the *Puſtles* are dryed and fallen, purge well, eſpecially if it be in *Autumn*.

17 As ſoon as this diſeaſe therefore appears by its ſigns, let the ſick abſtein from Fleſh and Wine, and open Air, let him uſe ſmall Beer warmed with a Toſt for his ordinary drink, and moderately when he deſires it For food uſe *water-gruel*, *water-pottage*, and other things having no manifeſt hot quality, eaſy of digeſtion boild Apples, and milk ſometimes for change, but the coldneſs taken off. Let the uſe of his bed be according to the ſeaſon of the year, and the multitude of the *Pocks*, or as found perſons are wont. In Summer let him riſe according to cuſtome, yet ſo as to be defended back from heat and cold in Exceſs, the diſeaſe will be the ſooner over and leſs troubleſome, for being kept in bed nouriſheth the Feaveriſh heat and makes the *Pocks* break out with a painful inflamation

19. In a colder ſeaſon and breaking forth of a multitude of *Puſtules*, forcing the ſick to keep his bed, let him be covered according to his cuſtome in health a moderate fire in the winter being kindled in his Chamber, morning and Evening: neither need he keep his Armes always in bed, or ly ſtill in the ſame place, for fear leaſt he ſhould ſweat which is very dangerous eſpecially to youth.

20 Before the fourth day uſe no medicines to drive out, nor be too ſtrict with the ſick; for by how much the more gently the *Puſtules* do grow, by ſo much the fuller and perfecter will the Separation be.

21. On the fourth day a gentle *Cordial* may help once given.

22. From that time a ſmall draught of warm milk (not hot) a little dy'd with *Saffron* may be given morning and evening till the *Puſtules* are come to their due greatneſs and ripeneſs.

23 When the *Puſtules* begin to dry and cruſt, leaſt the rotten vapours ſtrike inward, which ſometimes cauſeth ſudden death; Take morning and evening ſome temperate *Cordial* as four or five ſpoonfuls of *Malago wine* tinged with a little *Saffron*.

24 When the *Puſtules* are dryd and fallen off, purge once and again, eſpecially in the *Autumn Pocks*

25. Beware of anointing with *Oils*, *Fatts*, *Ointments*, and ſuch defenſives, for keeping the corrupted matter in the *Puſtules* from drying up, by the moiſture they fret deeper into the Fleſh, and ſo make the more deep Scarrs

26. The young and lively men that are brought to a plentiful ſweat in this ſickneſs, about the eighth day the ſweat ſtops of it ſelf, by no means afterwards to be forc'd out again, the ſick thereupon feels moſt troubleſome diſtreſs and anguiſh, and then make abundance of water and ſo dyes.

Few young men and ſtrong thus handled eſcape, except they fall into abundance of ſpitting or plentiful bleeding at the noſe.

27 Signs diſcovering the Aſſault at firſt are beating pain in the head Forehead and temples, pain in the back, great ſleepineſs, glittering of the eyes, ſtuning glimmerings ſeem before them itching of them alſo with tears flowing of them ſelves, itching of the Noſe, ſhort breath, dry Cough, ſoft moaning, hoarſeneſs, heat redneſs, and ſenſe of pricking over the whole body, terrors in the ſleep ſorrow and reſtleſſneſs, beating of the heart, *Urine* ſometimes as in health, ſometime filthy from great *Ebullition*, and all this or many of theſe with a Feaveriſh diſtemper.

28. Signs warning of the probable Event. If they break forth eaſily, quickly, and ſoon come to ripening, if the Symptomes be gentle, the Feaver mild, and after the breaking forth brabel'd. If the voice be free, and breathing eaſie, eſpecially if the Pox be red white diſtinct, ſoft few, round, ſharp top'd only without and not in the inward parts; if there be large bleeding at the noſe. Theſe ſigns are hopeful

29 But ſuch ſigns are doubtful, when they difficultly appear, when they ſink in again, when they are black, blewiſh, green, hard, all in one, if the Feaver abate not with their breaking forth if there be Swooning, difficulty of breathing, great thirſt, queaſie, great un-ſutcheons and it is very dangerous, if there be joyn'd with it ſome other malignant Feaver, called by ſome the peſtilential Pox: the *Spotted Feaver* is oft joyned with it

30 Deadly Signs if the *Flux* of the *Belly* happen, when they are broke forth, if the Urine be bloody or black, or the *Ordure* of that Colour; Or if pure blood be caſt out by the Belly or Gummus: Theſe Signs are for the moſt part deadly.

Thoſe things have I written Candid Reader, *not to inform the Learned* Phyſician *that hath much more cauſe to underſtand what preſs me to this diſcourſe than I, but to give ſome light to thoſe that have not ſuch advantages, leaving the difficulty of this diſeaſe to the* Phyſitians *Art, ſucceſſion, and faithfulneſs: for the right managing of them in the whole Courſe of the diſeaſe tends both to the* Patients *ſafety, and the* Phyſitians *diſcreet Succeſs in his Adminiſtrations: For in vain is the* Phyſitians *Art imployed, if they are not under a* Regular Regiment. *I am, though no* Phyſitian, *yet a well wiſher to the ſick. And therefore intreating the Lord to turn our hearts, and ſtay his hand, I am*

A Friend, Reader to thy Welfare,

21. 11. 167⅞. *Thomas Thacher.*

BOSTON, Printed and ſold by *John Foſter*. 1677

Asia, and had met with much success. Dr. Mather was impressed with the importance of the method, and tried to interest the Boston doctors in the subject. With one exception, however, they seemed to be either indifferent or opposed to the whole matter. This exception was Dr. Zabdiel Boylston,[1] who took up the practice of it amid the most violent opposition of his professional brethren; and on June 26, 1721, he inoculated his own son Thomas, six years of age, his negro man Jack, of thirty-six years, and a little negro boy, of two and a half years. They all had the disease very lightly, and he was encouraged to try the experiment on others. In his judgment the safety and value of the operation were soon established; but the medical profession were sceptical, and their opposition strong and bitter. With Dr. Douglass at their head they talked against it and wrote against it; and moreover they had the newspaper press on their side. Opposed to them were Dr. Boylston and the ministers, who at last carried the day. At one time the public feeling was so excited that the advocates of the practice were not safe even in their own houses. The town was patrolled by the rabble with halters in their hands, threatening to hang Dr. Boylston, if they could find him, to the nearest tree.

An attempt was made early in the morning of Nov. 14, 1721, by means of a "Fired Granado," to destroy the house of Cotton Mather, who had at the time a kinsman living with him and under his charge for inoculated small-pox. Fortunately the fuse was shaken out of the shell, and no serious damage done. A full account of the affair is given in the *Boston News-Letter*, Nov. 20, 1721, which says that —

> "When the Granado was taken up, there was found a paper so tied with a Thread about the Fuse, that it might outlive the breaking of the Shell, wherein were these words: COTTON MATHER, I was once one of your Meeting; But the Cursed Lye you told of —— ——, You know who, made me leave You, You Dog; And, Damn You, I will Enoculate you with this, with a Pox to you."

Of the Boston newspapers the *New England Courant*, edited by James Franklin, was particularly hostile to the new method.[2] Within the period of one year Dr. Boylston inoculated two hundred and forty-seven persons, and of this number only six died; and during the same time thirty-nine other persons in the neighborhood were inoculated by two other physicians, and all made good recoveries. This low rate of mortality, as compared with that among persons who had taken small-pox in the natural way, was a telling argument in favor of inoculation. The array of these statistics carried the public to the side of Dr. Boylston, who was now honored to the same degree that he had previously been libelled by a fickle populace. He was invited by Sir Hans Sloane, the Court physician, to visit London, where he received the most flattering attentions from the scientists of England, as well as from the reigning family. He was chosen

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 557, and Index to that volume, for references to inoculation. — ED.]

[2] [See the chapter on the "Press of the Provincial Period," in Vol. II. p. 394. — ED.]

a member of the Royal Society, and read a paper before that learned body on the subject of small-pox inoculation in New England. This was published in London in the year 1726, and dedicated by permission to the Princess of Wales. In this pamphlet he gives a minute account of many of his cases, telling the names of his patients in full, besides stating their ages; and in the preface he apologizes for the liberty he has taken in doing so. A second edition of this pamphlet was published at Boston, in the year 1730. In the course of time inoculation conquered all opposition, and finally became a well established fact in the community. Some of those who had bitterly opposed it were now its warmest friends. Notably among them was Dr. Benjamin Franklin; and in the small-pox epidemic of 1752, even Dr. William Douglass both practised inoculation and spoke of it as a "most beneficial Improvement." In writing on the subject he expresses himself "at a loss for the Reasons why Inoculation hitherto is not much used in our Mother Country, *Great Britain*; considering that it has with good Success been practised in our Colonies or Plantations."[1] During three quarters of a century the practice was continued, until it was superseded by the great discovery of Jenner.

The next excitement in the medical history of Boston was an epidemic which raged fifteen years later, and excited great consternation. This was described at the time by Dr. Douglass, a close observer in such cases, who wrote a good account of it. The title of this pamphlet is: "The Practical HISTORY of A New Epidemical Eruptive Miliary Fever, with an Angina Ulcusculosa which prevailed in *Boston*, New England, in the Years 1735 and 1736" (Boston, 1736). The diagnosis was rather obscure, and the disease baffled the skill of the physicians. "It was vulgarly called the *Throat Illness*, or a *Plague in the Throat*, and alarmed the Provinces of New England very much." Dr. Thacher, in his account of Douglass in the *American Medical Biography*, calls the disease by the name of *angina maligna*; which is a generic term, and includes any inflammatory affection of the throat or fauces, such as quinsy, malignant sore throat, croup, or mumps. It has been considered also to be scarlatina; but the description leaves little doubt that the diagnosis at the present time would be diphtheria. Dr. Douglass's essay was republished in the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Boston, 1825), with an editorial note that "it has been pronounced by competent judges one of the best works extant upon the subject of which it treats."[2]

The disease was so malignant and the public so much alarmed, that the town of Boston, in its corporate capacity, took action in the matter; and the following circular in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, April 29, 1736, will explain itself: —

THE *Select-Men of the Town of Boston*, in order to inform the Trading Part of our neighbouring *Colonies* concerning the State of the present *prevailing Distemper* in this Place, did desire a Meeting of as many of the *Practitioners in Physick* as could

[1] Douglass's *Summary*, ii. 412. [2] xiv. 1–13.

then be conveniently obtain'd. The Practitioners being accordingly met, did unanimously agree to the following *Articles* : —

1. That upon the first appearance of this *Illness* in *Boston*, the *Select-Men* did advise with the *Practitioners;* but they at that Time having not had Opportunities of observing the Progress of the *Distemper*, it was thought advisable (until further Experience) to shut up that *Person* who was supposed to have received it in *Exeter* to the Eastward; upon his Death the Watch was soon removed, but no Infection was observed to spread or catch in that Quarter of the Town; therefore no Watches were appointed in other Parts of the Town where it afterwards appeared, the Practitioners judging it to proceed from some *occult Quality in the Air,* and not from any observable *Infection communicated by Persons or Goods.*

2. The *Practitioners* and their Families have not been *seized* with this Distemper in a more *remarkable* manner (and as it has happened not so much) than other Families in Town, even than those Families who live in solitary Parts thereof.

3. As to the *Mortality* or Malignity of this Distemper, all whom it may concern are referred to the *Boston* Weekly-Journal of *Burials.* By the Burials it is notorious that scarce any Distemper — even the most favourable which has at any Time prevail'd so generally — has produc'd fewer Deaths.

4. As formerly, so now again, after many Months Observation, we conclude, That the present prevailing Distemper appears to us to *proceed from some Affection of the Air, and not from any personal Infection receiv'd from the Sick, or Goods in their neighbourhood.*

Nathaniel Williams.	Hugh Kennedy.
William Douglass.	William Davis.
John Cutler.	Thomas Bulfinch.

Nathaniel Williams, whose name heads the signatures, was an active and useful man in his day and generation. In the affairs of life he performed the triple *rôle* of preacher, doctor, and school-master. The union of these three characters was no infrequent occurrence in former times. In each he appears to have played well his part; and his career entitles him to more than a passing notice. He was the son of Nathaniel and Mary (Oliver) Williams, and was born in Boston, Aug. 23, 1675. He graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1693, and in the summer of 1698 was ordained — according to the sermon preached at his funeral by Thomas Prince — "an Evangelist in the *College-Hall*, for one of the *West India Islands.* But the climate not agreeing with his Constitution, He soon returned to this his *native City.*" At one time he was engaged in giving private instruction to boys; and he had the reputation of being an excellent classical scholar. In the year 1703 he was appointed usher at the Free Grammar School, now known as the Boston Latin School; and subsequently, in 1708, he was chosen to the mastership, which position he held until 1734.[1] He studied "*Chymistry* and *Physick* under his Uncle, the Learned Dr. *James Oliver*, of *Cambridge*, one of the most esteemed *Physicians* in his Day;" and even while teaching continued to practise his profession of medicine. He died Jan. 10, 1737–38; and the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of January 12 calls

[1] [See Vol. II. p. xxxiv. — Ed.]

him "the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Nathaniel Williams*," and speaks of him "as a very skilful and successful *Physician*;" and says that "as his Life has been very extensively serviceable, so his Death is esteemed as a public Loss."

The career of Dr. William Douglass has been already noted.

John Cutler was the son of John Cutler, and born Aug. 6, 1676, at Hingham. The father was a "chirurgeon," and served in King Philip's War. He came originally from Holland, where his name was Demesmaker. On coming to this country he adopted the English translation of his Dutch patronymic, and called himself Cutler; and ever afterward the family was so designated. His marriage is thus given in the town records of Hingham: —

"Johannes Demesmaker, a Dutchman (who say his name in English is John Cutler) and Mary Cowell, the daughter of Edward Cowell of Boston, were marryed by Captaine Joshua Hobart on the fourth day of January, 1674."

The births of seven children are also recorded in the same records. I give the entries of the two oldest and the two youngest of these children, as they show how the distinction between the names was made at the outset, and that it was dropped in the course of time. The oldest child was John, who became the physician and signed the circular relating to the epidemic: —

"Johannes Demesmaker, whose name in English is John Cutler, the son of Johannes Demesmaker, a Dutchman, and of Mary his wife, was born on the sixt day of August, 1676."

"Peter Demesmaker (the son of Johannes Demesmaker, a Dutchman, and of Mary his wife, an English woman) was born on the seventh day of July, 1679."

"David Cutler, y^e^ son of Doctor John Cutler and of Mary his wife, was born the first of November, 1689."

"Ruth Cutler, the daughter of Dr. John Cutler, and of Mary his wife, was born y^e^ 24th of February, 169½."

The father removed to Boston about the year 1694, and lived in Marlborough Street, now a part of Washington Street, near the Old South Meeting-house. He had a large practice, and was the preceptor of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, who afterward became famous during the time of the small-pox inoculation. He died, probably in the winter of 1717, and his son John, Jr., inherited his practice as well as the homestead. The son married the widow, Mrs. Joanna (Dodd) Richards; and he was actively connected with the King's Chapel, of which church he was a warden. He died Sept. 23, 1761, having lived a long life of usefulness.

It requires no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that Hugh Kennedy, the fourth signer of the circular, was a Scotchman.

William Davis, the next signer, died March 14, 1746. The *Boston Gazette or Weekly Journal* of March 18 says that he was "a Gentleman much

improv'd and greatly belov'd among us, as a skillful Physician and Surgeon, and was held in Esteem for his strict Piety." An inventory of his property contained among the items: "Druggs [£] 284: 4: 4;" "Chirurgical Instrum^ts of all Sorts, 120;" "3 Glass Cases of Veins and Anat: 50." This appraisal was made according to the paper money of New England, which at that time was much depreciated; and it would be difficult to calculate the gold value.

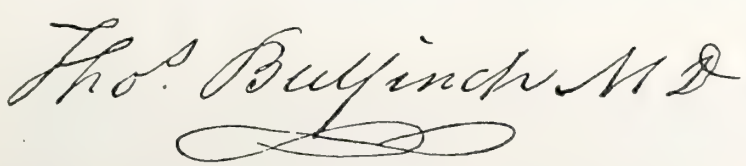
Thomas Bulfinch, the last signer, was the son of Adino Bulfinch, a merchant of Boston, who came to this country from England about the year 1680. The son was born in 1694, and began the study of his profession with Dr. Zabdiel Boylston as his preceptor. He afterward went to London, and received instruction in anatomy and surgery under the famous Cheselden, and subsequently to Paris, where he completed his professional education. On his return to Boston he married a daughter of John Colman, at that time a prominent merchant. He soon acquired the reputation of an excellent physician, and enjoyed a very large practice. He died Dec. 2, 1757, leaving a son, Thomas, Jr., who followed in the footsteps of his father as a successful practitioner.[1]

The first inoculating hospitals in the neighborhood of Boston — one at Point Shirley and the other at Castle William — were opened in the winter of 1764, during an epidemic of small-pox. The Point Shirley hospital was established by the governor of the province, with the advice of the council, and placed under the charge of several physicians. A notice in the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, March 19, 1764, sets forth that —

"Those Physicians of the Town of *Boston* who are engaged in carrying on the inoculating Hospital at *Point Shirley*, being prevented giving their constant Attendance there during the continuance of the *Small-Pox* in Town, hereby notify the Public that they are join'd by Doctor *Barnett* of *New Jersey*, who will constantly attend at said Hospital with one or other of said Physicians whose Business will permit, and employ the utmost Diligence and Attention for the relief of those that put themselves under their care. They further notify that *Point Shirley* contains as many comfortable and decent Houses as will be sufficient to accommodate as many Persons as will probably ever offer for Inoculation at one Time, from this or the neighbouring Governments, and is well furnished with every requisite Convenience both for Sickness and Health."

Dr. William Barnett lived at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and had acquired considerable reputation in Philadelphia as a promoter of variolous inoculation.

[1] [See Vol. II. p. xlv, for the father's signature; the son's is herewith. His certificates often occur in the *Massachusetts Archives*, — "Royalists," — that this or the other person's health is such that he should not be confined in the guard-ship. — Ed.]



The Castle William hospital was opened, to quote from the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, Feb. 27, 1764, —

"In order to inlarge the Conveniences for Inoculation in addition to those already proposed at Point-*Shirley*, that every Person desirous of undergoing that Operation may have an Opportunity of doing it, without endangering the Spreading the Distemper, and that this Town may be, as soon as possible, freed from the apprehension of the Small-Pox, the Governor has consented that the Barracks of *Castle-William* shall be improved for the Purpose of Inoculation from this Time into the Middle of *May* next. And the said Barracks are now opened to ALL PHYSICIANS having Patients to Inoculate, under such Rules as shall be thought proper to be made for that purpose.

"There are in the Barracks 48 Rooms, each of which will contain ten Patients conveniently."

The following advertisement in the same newspaper of March 5, 1764, furnishes the principal details of its administration: —

DR. SAMUEL GELSTON

Gives this Publick Notice to his Patients in *Boston* and the adjacent Towns that he has prepared (by Permission of his Excellency the Governor) all comfortable Accommodations for them at the Barracks at *Castle-William*, in order to their being inoculated for the Small-Pox under his immediate Care.

N.B. — His Rooms are in that Part of the Barracks where the Patients of Dr. *Nathaniel Perkins*, Dr. *Whitworth*, and Dr. *Lloyd's* are received.

☞ Dr. *Gelston* and Dr. *Warren* reside at *Castle-William* Day and Night.

ALL Persons inclined to go to the Barracks at *Castle-William* to be inoculated where Dr. GELSTON resides, may apply to Dr. LLOYD, at his House near the King's Chapel, who will provide them a Passage to the *Castle*.

Dr. Gelston was a physician of Nantucket, and had previously managed a small-pox hospital at Martha's Vineyard, where he had successfully inoculated eighty-one persons. There were at this time several private establishments in the town, at which inoculation was carried on.[1]

It is said that many came to Boston from all parts of the province and from other colonies to be treated in these hospitals. During a period of five weeks after they were first opened, it is estimated that more than three thousand people received the disease, and not a fatal case among them. The *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, April 16, 1764, is my authority for the statement.

It was during this epidemic that the library of Harvard College was burned, on the night of Jan. 24, 1764. The fire occurred in vacation time, and while the building was used by the General Court, which was then

[1] [The files of the city clerk show at this time a petition of William Tudor and others to the selectmen, to warn a town-meeting to see if they will prevent "four physicians and a foreigner" building a house within the town to inoculate in, May, 1764. The same files show an elaborate chirographical effort of John Vinal, the town's writing-master, asking compensation because the small-pox has broken up his school. — ED.]

sitting temporarily in Cambridge, on account of the small-pox in Boston. Among the losses, a contemporaneous account mentions —

"A collection of the most approved medical Authors, chiefly presented by Mr. James of the island of Jamaica, to which Dr. Mead and other Gentlemen have made very considerable additions; Also anatomical cutts and two compleat skeletons of different sexes. This Collection would have been very serviceable to a Professor of Physic and Anatomy, when the revenues of the College should have been sufficient to subsist a gentleman in this character." [1]

The allusion contained in the last paragraph seems to indicate that the question of a medical professorship in the college had been broached before this time. Even in the earliest days of the institution a certain amount of instruction had been given in medicine. Small though it was, it is not for us to despise its influence. Johnson, in his *Wonder-Working Providence* (London, 1654), — written about the year 1650, — describes the college at a period near that time, and says that "some help hath been had from hence in the study of Physick." [2] It is very likely that Cambridge was the place where Giles Firmin taught anatomy, as mentioned in a previous page of this chapter.

The American Revolution had opened a new field for medical investigations, and the establishment of military hospitals furnished increased facilities for the study of practical anatomy. The opportunities for dissection were frequent, and the young and enthusiastic students of medicine were not slow to avail themselves of these advantages. Dr. John Warren had been appointed superintending surgeon of the military hospital in Boston,[3] and his zeal for anatomical and surgical studies soon prompted him to utilize some of the bodies of soldiers who had died without friends to claim for them the last rites of burial. To this end, in the winter of 1780, he began a course of demonstrations at the hospital, situated at the west end of the town, near the site of the Massachusetts General Hospital; and this course of lectures was the forerunner of those now given at the Harvard Medical School. These demonstrations were carried on with great secrecy, and attended only by a few physicans and medical students. During the next winter another course was given, which was more public; and these two courses laid the foundation of the present Harvard School. Dr. Warren was encouraged in the undertaking by the help he received from the Boston Medical Society, an association organized about that time to pursue anatomical studies. The school began operations in the year 1783; and Dr. Warren was chosen, most naturally, to fill the professorship of anatomy and surgery. At first the lectures were delivered at Cambridge, and were attended not only by the medical students but by the senior

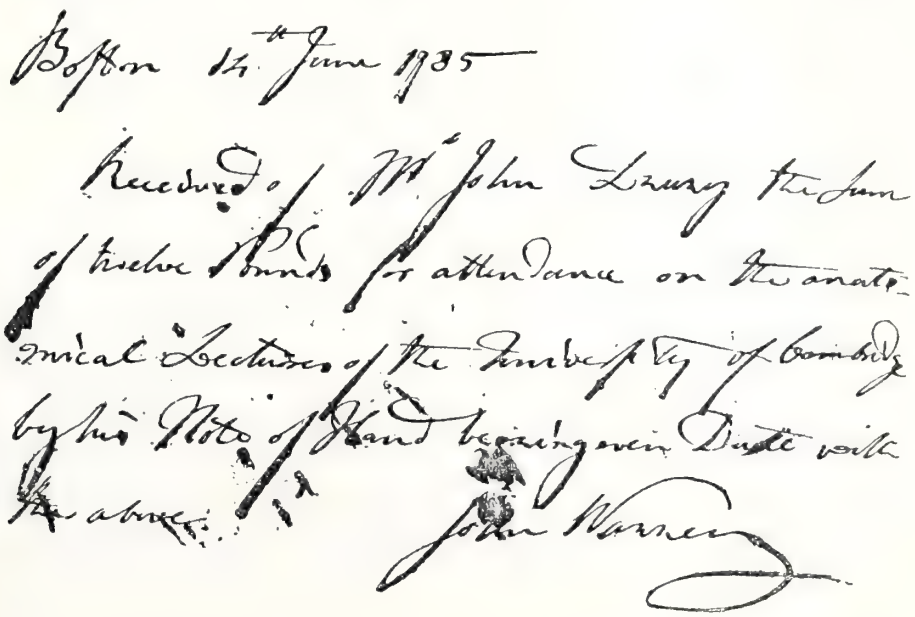
[1] The *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, Jan. 30, 1764. [See also Vol. II. p. 432. —Ed.]

[2] P. 165.

[3] [See Vol. III. p. 112. Dr. George B. Loring printed an account of the medical profession in the Revolution, in the *Medical and Surgical Journal*, June 17, 1875; and an account of the physicians of Boston of the same period, by Dr. Ephraim Eliot, is given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, November, 1863. — Ed.]

class of the college. Subsequently the whole course of instruction was given in Boston, where there were better opportunities for clinical practice and surgical operations. This change took place in the autumn of 1810, though it had in part been brought about during the preceding year. The removal was followed immediately by a large increase in the number of students.

Dr. Warren held the position from his election, Nov. 22, 1782, until his death, which took place April 4, 1815. He was succeeded by his son, Dr. John Collins Warren, who held the place until the year 1847, when he was followed by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. It is not a little remarkable that during a period of nearly a century this chair has had but three occupants.


Boston 14th June 1785

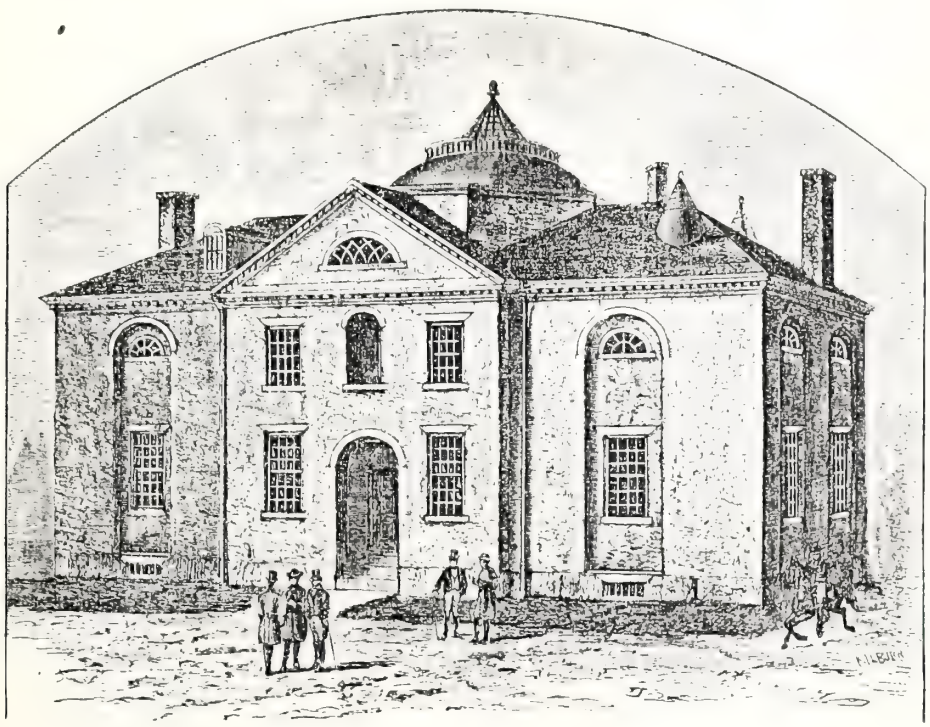
Received of Mr John Lowell the sum of twelve Pounds for attendance on the anatomical Lectures of the University of Cambridge by his Note of Hand bearing even Date with the above.

John Warren

In the early days of its history the school was not known by its present name, but was called the Medical Institution of Harvard College; though somewhat later it is spoken of as the Medical School of Harvard College, or of Harvard University. Occasionally it is mentioned in the newspapers as the Boston Medical School; and after its removal from Cambridge it is sometimes called the Massachusetts Medical College, — the name given to the building erected in Mason Street for the use of the school. An engraving of this structure may be found in the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, for April, 1816, and is here reproduced. It is only in recent times, — perhaps within twenty-five years, — that the institution has been called the Harvard Medical School. This name has grown up gradually, and now we seldom or never hear any other given to it.

The protective power of vaccination was discovered in England by Edward Jenner, near the end of the last century; and the news of its discovery was soon brought to this country. Among the first persons here,

and perhaps the first whose critical attention was called to its importance, was Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of Cambridge. Its introduction, like that of variolous inoculation, was destined to meet with many difficulties and obstacles; and Dr. Waterhouse was to be the champion. He wrote much as an advocate of the cause; and, against popular ridicule and prejudice, he succeeded in carrying the day. A communication, signed with his initials and dated at Cambridge, March 12, is found in the *Columbian Centinel* of March 16, 1799. It is headed "*Something curious in the* MEDICAL



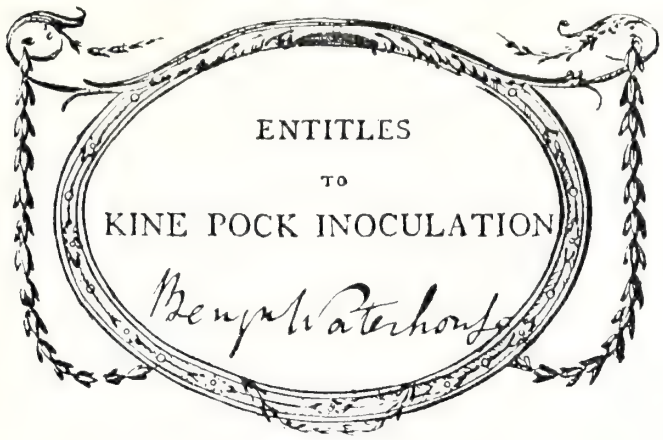
THE MEDICAL COLLEGE IN MASON STREET.[1]

LINE," and is the first account of vaccination that was given to the public in this country. He printed the article in a newspaper in order to excite "the attention of our dairy farmers to such a distemper among their cows," and to inform the profession generally of this security against small-pox.

In the year 1800 he published a tract entitled *A Prospect of Exterminating the Small-pox; being the history of the Variola Vaccina, or Kine-pox*, etc.; and in it he describes the method he used, July 8, 1800, in vaccinating his son, Daniel Oliver Waterhouse, a lad five years of age, who had this disease in a mild way. From the arm of this boy he vaccinated another son, three years old, who had the customary symptoms in a light form; and

[1] It is now an engine-house, the old front facing to the north.

subsequently he "inoculated a servant boy of about 12 years of age, with some of the infected thread from England." This expression furnishes the clew to the method adopted for obtaining the vaccine virus, which came "by a short passage from Bristol," England; though, in the autumn of 1802, Dr. Waterhouse speaks of receiving quill-points, or "tooth picks," charged with virus. Before he had finished the practice in his own family, he had vaccinated four of his children and three of his servants, with no serious symptoms or consequences. The faith he had in the efficacy of the operation, prompting him to try it on one of his own children, was of that living kind which always commands attention. In this matter we are reminded of Dr. Boylston's bold act in inoculating his son for small-pox.



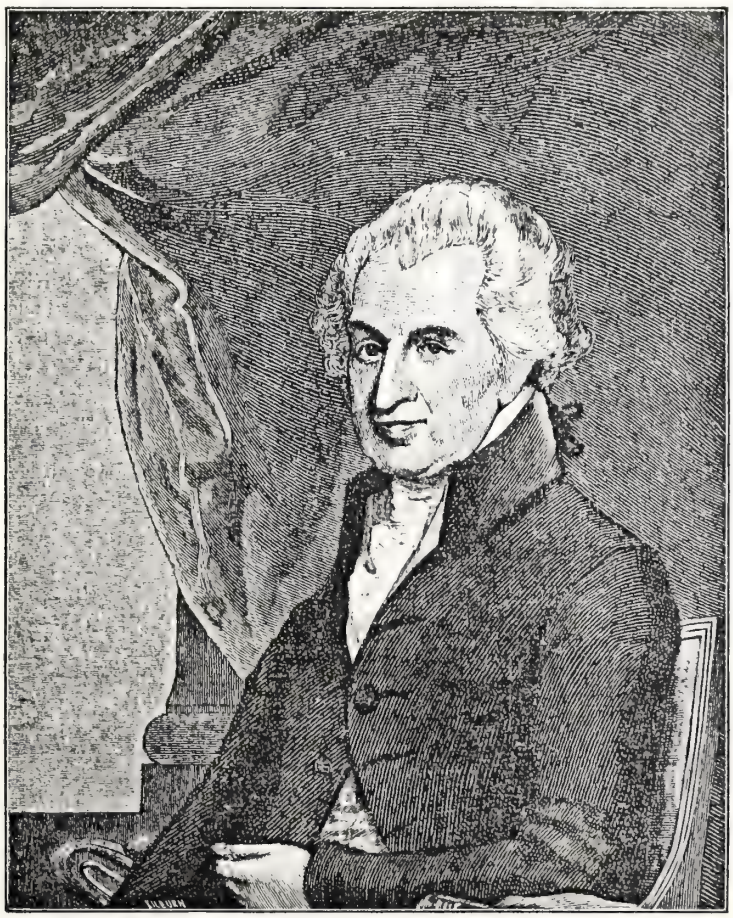
DR. WATERHOUSE'S TICKET.[1]

In the year 1802 Dr. Waterhouse published a work of one hundred and thirty-four pages, which formed Part II. of the previously mentioned tract; and in it he gives a full account of the new inoculation in America. In all his efforts to introduce vaccination, Dr. Waterhouse was warmly seconded by Dr. William Aspinwall, of Brookline, who deserves no small meed of praise in this matter. Dr. Aspinwall had paid much attention to variolous inoculation; and after the death of Dr. Boylston, the first American inoculator in point of time, he erected small-pox hospitals in Brookline, where he treated a large number of patients for the disease, which had been artificially induced. No man in America, probably, ever inoculated so many persons, or enjoyed so wide a reputation for his skill in so doing, as Dr. Aspinwall.

During the summer and autumn of 1802 some interesting experiments were conducted under the direction of the Boston Board of Health, whose unremitting exertions at that time to prevent contagious disease entitle them to the highest praise. The Board fitted up a hospital on Noddle's Island, now known as East Boston, and invited a number of physicians to co-operate with them in an undertaking to diffuse knowledge and dispel prejudice in regard to vaccination. It was here that the trials were made, which fortunately were highly successful. On Aug. 16, 1802, nineteen boys were vaccinated, and all passed through the regular stages of the

[1] This fac-simile, and that of Dr. John Warren's receipt are from originals kindly furnished by John S. H. Fogg, M.D., of South Boston.

cow-pox; and on November 9 twelve of these children, together with a son of Dr. Bartlett, who had previously had the cow-pox, were inoculated for the small-pox with matter taken from a patient in the most infectious state of the disease, and no trouble whatever followed. In order to show the true variolous character of the virus used in this experiment, two lads were inoculated at the same time with the same matter, and in due time a severe eruptive fever followed, with a plenteous crop of variolous pustules. When these two cases were in the right stage, matter was taken from them and



DR. JAMES LLOYD.[1]

inserted, for a second time, in the arms of the twelve children who had been previously inoculated,—and, besides, in the arms of the other seven boys who were absent at the first inoculation. They had, moreover, been exposed to infection, most of them for twenty days, by being in the same room with the two lads who had the small-pox, and all nineteen escaped. These and other facts are given in a report which was made and signed by eleven physicians,—James Lloyd and Benjamin Waterhouse appearing at

[1] [This portrait was painted by Stuart, and now belongs to Miss Alida L. Borland, of Boston. Dr. Lloyd was born at Oyster Bay, Long Island, March 14, 1728, and died March 14, 1810.—Ed.]

the head of the list. A full and official account of the whole affair is found in the *Columbian Centinel*, Dec. 18, 1802.

At the beginning of the present century Boston had no hospital for the treatment of general disease, though there were such institutions in New York and Philadelphia. During many years before this time there were various indications in the community that the want of such an establishment was beginning to be felt; and in the summer of 1810 strenuous efforts were made to supply the want, which proved successful. A circular-letter, dated Aug. 20, 1810, was prepared by Dr. James Jackson and Dr. John Collins Warren, and addressed to some of the most influential citizens of Boston and its neighborhood, for the purpose of awakening in their minds an interest in the subject. It was the opinion of Mr. Bowditch, as recorded in his *History of the Massachusetts General Hospital*, that this circular-letter might be regarded as the corner-stone of the institution.

Dr. James Jackson, the first signer, is perhaps the most conspicuous character in the medical annals of Massachusetts. No physician in the State ever exerted so large and lasting an influence over his professional brethren or his patients. Born in Newburyport, Oct. 3, 1777, graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1796, he studied his profession under the venerable Dr. Holyoke, of Salem. In the year 1812 he was appointed to the Hersey Professorship of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, which he continued to hold until 1836. At this time he gave up the active duties of the office, and was chosen Professor *Emeritus*. His writings are numerous, and all his publications show great wisdom as well as literary culture. During a period of more than half a century he was a frequent contributor to the pages of the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, and of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*. His death took place on Aug. 27, 1867.[1]

A charter for a hospital was granted by the Legislature, Feb. 25, 1811, containing a liberal gift, made on the condition that $100,000 more should be subscribed by individuals. Besides giving the Province House, the official residence of the Provincial Governors, for this object, the State helped along the matter in various ways. By a special resolve it was provided that the stone for the building should be hammered by the convicts in the State prison at Charlestown. The work thus done is estimated at more than $30,000.[2] The institution was opened in the autumn of 1821; though the McLean Asylum for the treatment of the insane, under the same board of managers, was in operation several years before this time.

The greatest boon to the human race, since the invention of printing, has been unquestionably the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether; and this great fact was first demonstrated to the world at the Massachusetts General Hospital. It was on Oct. 16, 1846, that ether was here

[1] [The *Life of Dr. John C. Warren* contains portraits of Dr. Warren; his father, Dr. John Warren; and of Dr. James Jackson. See also the *History of the Mass. General Hospital*. — Ed.]

[2] [Views of the Massachusetts General Hospital are in the *Life of John C. Warren*, p. 208; in the *History* of the hospital; and elsewhere. — Ed.]

administered, under the immediate supervision of Dr. William Thomas Green Morton, in the presence of the surgeons of the institution. A full account of the affair, together with a detailed statement of the controversy connected with it, is given in Mr. Bowditch's history of the hospital.

The City Hospital, supported entirely by the city, was opened in the year 1864. It is situated in Harrison Avenue, and occupies a square containing nearly seven acres. It consists of a central building and several large pavilions for the treatment of medical or surgical cases. During the past year nearly five thousand patients were treated within the hospital, besides ten thousand six hundred and five out-patients.

The Massachusetts Homœopathic Hospital, in the immediate neighborhood of the City Hospital, was opened in the spring of 1876, and is conducted by physicians of the Homœopathic school.

The Carney Hospital, at South Boston, is a large and useful institution; as is also the New England Hospital for Women and Children, situated in Roxbury.

There are numerous other Hospitals and Homes in various parts of the city for the treatment of the sick; notably among them is the Children's Hospital, first opened in the year 1869. A large and commodious building for the use of this institution is now erecting in Huntington Avenue, which will be finished during the coming year.

Samuel A. Green

ADDITIONAL MEMORANDA.

I. Changes of Conditions and Habits affecting the Public and the Profession. — To write of "Medicine in Boston" is not unlike writing of the tides in Boston Harbor. Boston is a fraction of the civilized world, as its harbor is a part of the ocean. In both we must expect to find general laws and phenomena, modified more or less in their aspects by local influences.

It is safe to say that our descendants who may read these pages will be very much the same kind of human beings that we are, as we are very much like those who have gone before us. Elderly people will talk about "old-fashioned snow-storms" as we do. They will speak of "good old-fashioned constitutions," and bewail the degeneracy of the times to which they have survived. It was so in the days of Nestor; it was so in the days of good Dr. Holyoke. Among the fragments left by that excellent and sensible, but not eminently poetical, old physician was one which embodies a feeling

that doubtless extended to many others of the changes which he had lived to witness: —

> "... and smoak'd segars!
> Vile substitute for that white, slender tube
> Our fathers erst enjoy'd, in winter's eve,
> When the facetious jest, or funny pun,
> Or tales of olden time, or Salem witch,
> Or quaint conundrum round the genial fire
> The social hour beguil'd."

There are many changes in the conditions of society, and even in the aspects of Nature, taking place from generation to generation, some for the better, some for the worse; and it is not always easy to strike the balance between the helpful and the harmful ones. The clearing of the forests alters the whole face of the country, — to some extent modifying the climate. The damming of streams necessarily introduces new sources of disease. Look at our Boston as it was in 1630, and as we now see it! Faith, aided by certain material agencies, has said to one of the hills of the Trimountain triplet, "Remove hence to yonder place!" and it has removed, being literally "cast into the sea." The little neck which united Boston to the main land has expanded into a great territory, covered with costly edifices. The old "Mill Pond" has been so long a part of the solid territory that its former existence is only known to a few students of the past. A little brook of fresh water from the hills runs through every street, and waits at every man's door, ready to serve him at an instant's notice. These are changes which might well be expected to affect the health of the citizens, directly or indirectly.

There has always been a prejudice in the minds of some of the old inhabitants against the "made land" of Boston. The territory embracing what was once the Mill Pond is said to have been unfavorable to the health of its inhabitants. Some have felt apprehensive that the creation of the New Boston, as we might almost venture to call it, — the stately city lying west of the Common, — would call a malarious region into existence. So far as our present experience reaches, these apprehensions of timid citizens, — shared, if I remember right, by the late Dr. Buckingham, — have proved groundless. Dr. Edward H. Clarke said to me, some time before his death in 1877, that, up to that date, he had never had a case of typhoid fever in the newly-peopled quarter, where he found a large proportion of his patients. Dr. Charles F. Folsom, late Secretary of the State Board of Health, writes me (Oct. 18, 1881), in answer to my question on the matter, as follows: —

> "As to the Back Bay land, there is no evidence of any conditions unfavorable to health which can amount to proof. If there is any injurious emanation through the gravel from the filth below that, it must be very difficult to prove the fact. There is so much space and sunshine that, on the whole, the mortality is the lowest in the city, — perhaps largely due to the character of the population."

Dr Folsom says also: —

"There seems to be pretty clear evidence that typhoid fever diminished in Boston after the introduction of Cochituate water, the evidence being chiefly from the statements of physicians. (See *Second Report of the State Board of Health*, pp. 125 *et seq.*) I know of no way of ascertaining its effect on the general death-rate."

The question as to the former and recent origination of fever and ague in this section of the United States is of late years assuming a new interest. On this subject I can speak with some authority. In the year 1837 the Boylston Prize Committee proposed the following question: "To what extent and in what places has intermittent fever been indigenous in New England?" This question I answered to the best of my ability, with the aid of letters from distinguished physicians all over New England in answer to my inquiries. My dissertation, published with other essays in 1838, is accompanied by a map of New England, in which every locality where the disease could be shown to have originated is marked by an asterisk. Of the twenty-nine marked localities fifteen were in Massachusetts. Among these the town of Boston had its place, by the testimony of the earlier writers and on the strength of a single case given by me as related to me by Dr. James Jackson. The patient was a lady, under the care of the late Dr. Dixwell. She had lived in Essex Street for a year or two, and had not been travelling for some time previous, if for many years. "This is the only case," Dr. Jackson says, "I have ever known of intermittent fever in Boston, so far as I am acquainted with that vicinity; nor have I heard on any good authority of a case of this disease in my day within these limits." Even this case he considered questionable. All my inquiries in 1837 failed to bring out evidence of any other indigenous cases. Neither have I been much more fortunate, or unfortunate, in finding proof of the existence of the disease as native here in these later years. Dr. Folsom writes, in the letter abovementioned: —

"I have never heard of any recent case of intermittent fever in the vicinity of Boston, except three cases near Fresh Pond, in Cambridge, this autumn. I think there were a few in Chelsea some years ago. Dr. Walcott [the successor of Dr. Folsom] tells me that he has no further information. Doubtless you know that there has been a great prevalence of the fever in Western Massachusetts, Eastern New York, and Rhode Island for a few years."

I have recently made inquiries of several of our leading practitioners, but no one of them had seen, in the course of a long practice, a single case undisputedly originating in Boston. My record of more than forty years ago is confirmed by that of to-day. Boston has been, for several generations at least, almost if not absolutely free from that form of malaria which produces fever and ague. That it was not so in the early periods of the settlement is rendered probable by the facts cited from old authorities by Dr. Green, as well as those collected by myself in the dissertation referred to. That it may not be so in the future is rendered, I do not like to say

probable, but certainly not very unlikely, by the facts referred to, which have been observed within the last few years. The *Medical Record* for Oct. 8, 1881, makes the following statement: —

"It is, we believe, about five years since it [*malaria*, — meaning fever and ague, its effect] began to travel up the Connecticut and along the sea-coast. It has now reached some of the river towns in lower Vermont, and has been quite prevalent at several points in western Massachusetts, along the Connecticut River Valley. Cases also occurred at Providence, R. I., and in the vicinity of Boston. According to the Connecticut Board of Health, the malarial wave is gradually extending over that State. The only rule which seems to be observed is that it follows up the river valleys, spreading on either side. It also travels along the coast line, extending thence inland. Local causes do not apparently develop the disease, although marshy ground, newly-turned soil, etc., have in some cases increased the amount or modified its character."

The disease has appeared in the vicinity of New Haven, of Hartford, and of Springfield, at Greenfield, Lenox, and North Adams.

Whether the early experience of Boston and its neighborhood is to be repeated in coming years we can only conjecture; but there is reasonable ground for apprehension in the encroachments on New England territory which have occurred of late years.[1]

Since writing the above paragraph, the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* for Oct. 27, 1881, contains a statement, borrowed from the Report of the city registrar of Providence, that there are more than a hundred cases of fever and ague in that city at this time. In the same number of the *Journal* it is stated that the malarial wave has extended up the Blackstone River as far as Lonsdale, where eight cases had been observed by the physician making this statement. Another physician reported thirty cases at Cranston during the present season. I must, therefore, confess that what I claimed for New England in verse so long ago as 1846 cannot be affirmed in truth-telling prose in 1881: —

"Cold are thy skies, but ever fresh and clear,
No rank malaria stains thine atmosphere."

As yet, however, it is true of Boston, and we may hope, rather than confidently trust, will remain so in the coming centuries.

With the swarming in of a new population of poor foreigners, new sources of disease have naturally come into being. The month of June is commonly the least sickly one of the year in Boston. As the hot weather

[1] See an important paper by Dr. J. F. A. Adams of Pittsfield, Mass., in the supplement to the *Second Annual Report of the State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity*, Boston, 1881. The disease secured a foothold in Massachusetts, "at Sheffield in 1877; but previous to this, a few cases had appeared in three localities: namely, in Springfield since 1870, New Marlborough since 1874, and Holyoke since 1875. In 1878 the disease appeared at Agawam and New Lenox; and in 1879 and 1880 it made a rapid advance, invading a considerable number of towns."

[Dr. Holmes himself was one of the earliest to treat this subject, in his Boylston Prize Essay, 1836. — Ed.]

comes on, the better residences in the newer parts of the city are gradually left for the country, until the broad avenues of our Westminster and the adjacent streets are silent and lonely as Tadmor in the Desert. In July the ravages of the destroying endemic, *cholera infantum*, begin to be formidable, and they continue until the cooler days and nights bring with them typhoid fevers and dysenteries. The large death-rate of Boston is in great measure due to the fearful mortality among children in the crowded streets and poorer dwellings of the city. The malaria of filth and overcrowding takes the place of the marsh miasms which afflict other parts of the country. Why our city should so long have enjoyed exemption from these also it is not easy to say. It has suffered from cholera, from diphtheria, from the ordinary eruptive fevers; in the earlier part of the century from slight inroads of imported yellow fever: but while it has shared the diseases which belong to the whole country and the whole world, and felt the usual effects of crowding common to great cities, it has never known any destructive local pestilence like the plague of London, or the yellow fever of New Orleans or of Philadelphia. A source of anxiety at the present time is the condition of the water supply, which, though abundant, is so far from being satisfactory in quality that spring water is as much an article of commerce as ale or wine; and many families no more think of drinking the Cochituate infusion of organic matters than they would of drinking the salt water of the Charles.

The question as to a change of constitution in the American from the Old-World type and habit is under active discussion at the present time. Long before another century shall be completed, we may trust that a thorough investigation will have taken the place of vague impressions and partial statistics. The Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, sometime President of the College of New Jersey, maintained, as others have since his time, that the white man in America was becoming assimilated to the Indian in physical character. It has been generally believed that the American, as compared with the Englishman, is leaner, paler, more nervous; that his teeth are more liable to decay; that the young women, though singularly handsome in early life, fade much sooner than do their English sisters. All this was attributed to such causes as the climate, which is thought to be drying and stimulating; to the common food, which is accused of being indigestible and badly cooked; to the eager activity of the people in the pursuit of gain, with also a neglect of exercise and athletic amusements. On the other hand, I once heard it maintained by a well known writer that the American is "an Englishman reinforced." In a recent article, founded on long and careful observation in both countries, the characteristic American and English types, as seen in ordinary representations, are said to be found as well marked in one country as in the other. There is at this time a rather common belief that the new generation in this city is breeding up to a higher standard than that of its ancestors. The prevalence of a pleasing *embonpoint* among our young women of higher social condition is

spoken of as quite equal to that observed in England. We are beginning to export beauty with other live products.

Two obvious causes tend to improve the development of the new generation. The first is the prolonged residence in the country of all who can afford it during the hot season. Man, but more especially woman, is a hot-house fruit in our inclement climate. To make up for long confinement under glass, free exposure, so far as the seasons permit, is essential. The second obvious cause of physical improvement is found in the great attention now given to out-of-door exercises. Base-ball and cricket, lawn-tennis and croquet, football, lacrosse, boating, running matches, fencing, sparring, — all these have become serious pursuits, under the name of amusements. Training for athletic contests has been better than sermons in enforcing the connection between perfect health and temperate habits. Wholesome food, abstinence from alcoholic stimulants and narcotic nerve-poisoners have proved their value, or rather their necessity, as conditions of success in the rowing match and foot-race.

We have seen families, long resident among us, run down and die out. We have seen others breed up, showing a physical constitution far superior to that of their progenitors. The question of acclimation cannot be considered fully worked out as yet. But we do know that, under proper influences, vital capital may be accumulated here as well as any other and less valuable property. Daniel Webster and Jeremiah Mason strode in upon us from the hungry hillsides of New Hampshire. Two of the most athletic young men I have known traced their lineage backward through four or more generations to invalids of our city and its immediate neighborhood. How many centuries it may take to mould the true American type, or whether there will be one or many gradually taking shape on the Western Continent, we must leave it to the future to decide. This at least we know, that the fancies of Buffon and the whims of such ethnologists as the late Dr. Knox, of Edinburgh, are already rendered ridiculous by the history of many successive generations, represented at this day by men and women not a few of whom are far above the average European in bodily and mental vigor; while the beauty of American young women is generally recognized as a national characteristic. The causes of improvement and deterioration in the race will vary with time and circumstances; but we have a right to anticipate a constantly growing adaptation of the settlers of the New World to their atmospheric and other natural environments, so that we can hardly guess what physical and mental standard our descendants may reach after a thousand years of ancestral acclimation.

The death-rate among the poorer classes in a crowded city must always, it may be feared, remain large. But there are many circumstances favorable to health in well-built, and especially in well-paved, cities; and we have a right to hope that our city will, by replacing its unwholesome tenements by habitable dwellings, the improvement of its drainage and, we must add, of its water supply, diminish a ratio of mortality now larger than it should be in a town so situated.

II. Medical Practice as it was and is. — Our forefathers appear to have given more thought, a great deal, to the salvation of their souls than to the care of their bodies. Disease itself, the offspring of sin and penalty of a poisoned nature, was for them a theological entity rather than a disturbed physiological process. The superstitions of the clergy were naturally, to some extent, reflected in the practice of the physicians. How far this was the case we have scanty means of knowing, for very little is recorded of the practitioners of medicine as compared with the abundant memoirs of the preachers. One curious fact hints at a difference of opinion and feeling in the two professions, which was probably more extensive and deeper than any record can show. In the endemic mania at Salem the Swinnerton family are said to have been all along opposed to Mr. Parris, and to have kept remarkably clear from the witchcraft delusion. Dr. John Swinnerton, who died just before the reign of ghostly terror prevailed, was the chief medical practitioner of Salem; and we can hardly doubt that his influence had much to do with the attitude taken by the family with reference to the all absorbing question. But notwithstanding the proverbial freedom of thought characterizing the medical profession, we could hardly expect the earlier physicians to have been much in advance of their age; and we can conjecture what must have been the state of medical belief and treatment among the colonists, by recalling the contemporary conditions of medical science and art in the Old World.

If one of the earliest settlers, or of the next generation, had gone to England with a scrofulous child, Richard Wiseman, the distinguished author of *Chirurgicall Treatises*, member of the Honorable Company of Barber Surgeons, would have commended him to the touch of his royal master, as being the divinely appointed cure of the "King's Evill." If the traveller had been fortunate enough to carry an introduction to the Hon. Robert Boyle, one of the most illustrious philosophers of his age, that distinguished gentleman might have handed him a little book which the great man himself had put forth, in which he would find the ashes of the "Sole of an Old Shoe worn by some Man that walks much," or the powdered warts from the leg of a horse, recommended for different affections, — the last for internal use. Mr. Boyle would have very probably advised him to consult Mr. Valentine Greatrakes, the touch-doctor, or to procure some of the "Powder of Sympathy" of Sir Kenelm Digby, wherewith to anoint the *weapon*, not the patient, if one had been wounded. If the colonist had passed over to the Continent he might probably have sought the counsel of the world-renowned Van Helmont, the successor in some respects of Paracelsus, who would have explained to him the mysteries of the *Archæus*, the ruler of the living body, who was to be humored and coaxed or driven into good behavior; perhaps have commended him to his Irish friend, Butler, who would have tried the virtues of his famous pebble upon him. Not much could be expected of medical science in the New World if such was its condition in the Old. Physic was a lucrative calling,

in which the desire of gain, joined to the benevolent purpose of relieving suffering, — aided also by the natural vanity which leads men to overestimate their own powers and performances, — conspired to attribute a much larger share in the movements of disease to medication than really belonged to it. Mr. Ward, the Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon from 1648 to 1679, who might have told us so much, and has told us so little, about Shakespeare, quotes a lively description of the doctors quite as damaging to their patients as to them: "There are several sorts of physicians, said one; first, those that can talk but doe nothing; secondly, some that can doe but not talk; third, some that can both doe and talk; fourthly, some that can neither doe nor talk, — *and these get most monie.*"

I had the privilege of examining and reporting to the Massachusetts Historical Society on a paper of medical directions placed in my hands by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the president of the society. It is headed, "For my worthy friend, Mr. Wintrop," and signed "Ed. Stafford." Its date is 1643; and I was not able to decide whether it was intended for our Governor John Winthrop, or for his son, the Governor of Connecticut. The list of remedies is made up principally of simples, or vegetable substances. St. John's wort, black hellebore, great bryony root, the four great cold seeds, maiden-hair, fennel, parsley, witch-hazel, elder, clown's all-heal (*stachys palustris*), saffron, foxglove, jalap, scammony, snakeroot, are among these, many of them inert, some dangerous, if not carefully handled. Caranna and tacamahacca, — two gums, of which it used to be said, "Whatever the tacamahacca has not cured the caranna will," — and Burgundy pitch are also enumerated. Of mineral substances, lime-water, salt, saltpetre, *crocus metallorum* (sulphuretted oxide of antimony) are mentioned. "A Wilde Catt's skin on y^e^ place grieved" is recommended for pains in the heart or limbs. More formidable to the imagination than any of these is "My black powder against y^e^ plague, small-pox, purples, all sorts of feavers, poyson, either by way of prevention or after infections." This is made by burning toads to charcoal, and reducing this to powder. It belongs to that list of abominations which disgraced the old pharmacopias, but which have disappeared from the armamentarium of regular practitioners. As late, however, as the year 1789, Cullen had to censure Vogel for allowing burnt toads and swallow chicks to remain on his list of remedies.

The Winthrops, — to one of whom Dr. or Mr. Stafford's directions were given, — assisted their fellow-citizens with medical counsel as well as in many other ways. The Governor of Connecticut, John Winthrop, treated a great number of medical cases in Hartford, and left a record of his practice extending from 1657 to 1669. This manuscript was also intrusted to me. I examined it very carefully, and reported upon it in the lecture before the Massachusetts Historical Society to which I have already referred. From it we may get an idea of what was likely to be the kind of treatment to which our Boston predecessors would be submitted. The excellent Governor seems to have been consulted by great numbers of persons, — to

have had a wider circle of practice, it may be suspected, than many or any of those who called themselves doctors. The common diseases of all ages and both sexes appear to have come under his care. Measles and their consequences are at first most prominent, and fever and ague had often to be treated. He used the ordinary simples dear to mothers and nurses, — elecampane, elder, wormwood, anise, and the rest; and besides these certain mineral remedies. Of these, nitre (saltpetre) was his favorite. Another favorite prescription was spermaceti, which, like Hotspur's fop, he seems to have considered "the sovereign'st thing on earth" for inward bruises, and often prescribes after falls and similar injuries. Other remedies were antimony, now and then a little iron or sulphur or calomel, rhubarb, jalap, horseradish (which I remember Cullen recommends for hoarseness), guaiacum, and the old mithridate or farrago which, like so many foolish mixtures, owed all its real virtue to opium. He amused his patients with doses of coral and of amber, and sometimes gave them (let us hope without their knowing it) some of those unmentionable articles which insulted the senses and the stomachs of seventeenth and eighteenth century patients. One medicine which he very often prescribes he calls *rubila*. After long search I found that this consisted of four grains of diaphoretic antimony, with twenty grains of nitre, and a little salt of tin. I do not remember that the Governor ever mentions bleeding or blistering. Whether busy practitioners found time to bleed their patients as readily as those who had little else to do might be questioned. One of my old friends told me that the Philadelphia doctors used to order blood-letting more frequently than the Boston ones, because there was in that city a set of professional bleeders.

Among my old books I found a small manuscript volume of Dr. James Oliver, a famous physician, who graduated at Harvard College in 1680, and died in 1703. It contains an account of the medicines he purchased and prescribed. The usual simples are mentioned, with certain warming elixirs and cordials; and also iron and mercury.

By the kindness of the late librarian of the American Antiquarian Society I had placed in my hands a manuscript of Cotton Mather, entitled "The Angel of Bethesda: an Essay upon the *Common Maladies of Mankind*, offering, first, the sentiments of Piety," etc., and "a Collection of plain but *Potent* and *Approved* REMEDIES for the Maladies." His starting point is, of course, theological. "Sickness is, in Fact, *Flagellum Dei pro peccatis mundi*." The treatise is full of pedantry, superstition, declamation, and miscellaneous folly. Yet Cotton Mather's drag-net is always worth looking through. He prescribes euphrasia, eye-bright, in recognition of the absurd old doctrine of signatures. For the scattering of wens "the efficacy of a Dead Hand has been out of measure wonderful." He apostrophizes the millipede, "Poor sowbug!" and then proclaims its healing virtues. We are to take "half a pound, putt 'em alive into a quart or two of wine," with saffron and other drugs, and of this tincture the patient

is to take two ounces twice a day. He speaks of some of the old remedies thus: —

"Among the plants of our soyl Sir William Temple singles out Five [six] as being of the greatest virtue and most friendly to health; and his favorite plants, Sage, Rue, Saffron, Alehoof, Garlick, and Elder.

"But these *Five* [six] *plants* may admit of some competitors. The QUINQUINA, — How celebrated! Immoderately, Hyperbolically celebrated!"

Of Ipecacuanha he says: —

"This is now in its reign; the most fashionable vomit. . . . I am not sorry that antimonial emetics begin to be disused."

Again: —

"Mercury, we know thee! but we are afraid thou wilt kill us too, if we employ thee to kill them that kill us.

"And yet for the cleansing of the small Blood Vessels, and making way for the free circulation of the Blood and Lymph, there is nothing like Mercurial Deobstruents."

How far Cotton Mather represented the practice of the Boston physicians of his time I have not the means of determining.

In the year 1718 William Douglass, M. D., settled in Boston as a practising physician. He was of Scotch birth, and educated partly in Paris, partly in Leyden. He is said to have been at one time the only practitioner in the town who had a regular degree. He was a man of learning and ability, eminently given to dispute, — a good instance of the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*. He at first opposed Dr. Boylston and Cotton Mather in their efforts to introduce the practice of inoculation, but afterward pronounced himself in its favor.

I suspect that medicine in Boston owed the reform of its *Materia Medica* largely to William Douglass. He mentions four remedies as the most important ones in the hands of the physicians of his time. This was in the dedication of his quarrelsome treatise on inoculation, in the year 1730. Nearly seventy years after this Dr. Holyoke, who had then been in practice for half a century, took a student just beginning his medical education with him, — young James Jackson, — into the room where he kept his medicines. Pointing to the drawers and bottles ranged around the room, he said to the young man: "I seem to have here a great number and variety of medicines; but I may name four which are of more importance than all the rest put together; namely, Mercury, Antimony, Opium, and Peruvian Bark." Dr. Jackson gives these four remedies the same prominent place which his "old master" assigned them. Now these are the four remedies which Dr. William Douglass, practising a century before Dr. Jackson, considered to be the most important articles of the *Materia Medica*. Dr. Danforth substituted ipecacuanha for antimony, retaining the other three articles

with this as his chief reliance. We shall see presently what rank they hold in the practice of to-day. If Molière had restated the prevalent method of practice in acute diseases, as it was within my own memory, it would be *saignare, purgare, et blisterizare*. The object of these measures, aided by rest and low diet, was to subdue inflammatory action, and thus avert its destructive consequences. But as a series of restorative processes involves a sustained effort on the part of the living powers, and as these are liable to fail if not properly supported, and the patient to die of exhaustion, the fear of debility comes in to balance the fear of over-excitement. Medical practice, therefore, always tends to vibrate between depleting and sustaining measures. The doctors have most commonly been for bleeding and starving, the old women for feeding and stimulating "to keep up the strength," in such diseases as fevers and inflammation of the lungs. Dr. Fuller, who came with the Pilgrims of the "Mayflower," says, in 1630, "I have been to Matapan [now Dorchester] and let some twenty of those people blood." Dr. Benjamin Rush bled his patients like so many calves. Forty years ago, or later, a physician carried a lancet-case in his pocket almost as a matter of course. Still there were those who never used that little instrument. Our Boston Dr. Danforth was opposed to venesection. Dr. William Tully, of Connecticut, said, "The lancet is a weapon which annually slays more than the sword."

The old women have got the upper hand. Patients are fed diligently through the whole course of acute diseases. Blood-letting, as one of my friends in active practice tells me, "is almost getting to be a lost art." "My assistant," he says, "in the last year of his studies had never seen venesection performed, and did not know how to do it." I remember being told by a former medical student, who had been long a resident in the Bellevue Hospital of New York, that he had never seen a patient bled. Still it is advocated by Dr. Barker and others in puerperal convulsions; and I have seen a recent discussion in which it was maintained by some of the disputants that it was useful in some cases of pneumonia. The essay of Louis on the effect of blood-letting in this disease did much to weaken the confidence long felt in its efficacy.

In order to know what drugs are most frequently prescribed at the present time, I applied to four physicians for a list of their favorite remedies, and to three apothecaries for the names of the medicines which they most frequently put up for regular practitioners. Opium and quinia were oftenest mentioned, being named by all of the seven gentlemen consulted. Next came bromide of potassium, mentioned by six of the whole number; iodine, etc., by five; ipecacuanha, mercury, bismuth, salicylic acid and salicylates, and iron, by four; pepsin, rhubarb, and chlorate of potass, by three; arsenic, guarana, and phosphates, by two. Among the other remedies in the list I find ergot, chloral, strychnine, belladonna, pilocarpine, glycerine, podophyllin, coca, and the familiar old medicines, castor oil, squills, and nitre.

The following list of the remedies most used at the Massachusetts General Hospital was kindly furnished to me by Dr. Whittemore, the Superintendent of that Institution: Opium, iron, quinia, iodide and bromide of potassium, salicylic acid, subnitrate of bismuth, chloral hydrate, mercury (in specific disease). The cathartics most employed are sulphate of magnesia, castor oil, podophyllin, compound cathartic pill, aloes, compound colocynth pill, compound liquorice powder, various cathartic waters. "Listerism" is almost universally employed in surgical cases. Subcutaneous injections of morphia are extensively used, also of ether and alcohol when stimulation is demanded: apomorphia is employed in the same way to produce immediate vomiting. Venesection is rarely practised; not a single case of it for medical disease during five years is remembered. Leeches are applied for contusions; cupping ordered once in a great while; blisters rather more frequently, but not very often.

Externally, I am told that ointments are much less used than formerly. Carbolic acid, as all know, is employed to a great extent. Liniments of opium, aconite, and chloroform are employed; also tincture of iodine. "Vaseline" and "cosmoline" are much used in place of the old ointments. It may be interesting by and by to note which of these various remedies passes out of general employment, and what others take their places. Leeching and blistering seem to share in some measure the disfavor of venesection I have not spoken of the various anæsthetics, among which ether has from the first been preferred in Boston. Next to these in silencing pain is the practice of subcutaneous injection of morphia, now commonly employed and of great and speedy efficacy.

The most remarkable historical occurrences in the medical annals of Boston are these: —

The first introduction into America of inoculation for small-pox, by Zabdiel Boylston, in 1721.

The first introduction of vaccination into America, by Benjamin Waterhouse, in 1800.

The first introduction into the world of ethereal anæsthesia, by William Thomas Green Morton, in 1846.

The most important local events are: —

The founding of the Boston Dispensary (1796) and of the Massachusetts General Hospital (1811). The establishment of the City Hospital (1864) and that of the Eye and Ear Infirmary (1826), and other medical charities. The removal to Boston of the Medical School of Harvard University and the erection of the Massachusetts Medical College (1815), followed by that of the building in North Grove Street, and of the noble edifice now in course of construction at the corner of Boylston and Exeter streets. The formation of the Boston Medical Association (1806), of the Suffolk District Medical Society (1849), of the Societies for Medical Improvement (1839), for Medical Observation (1835 and 1846), of Medical Sciences (1869), and others.

The most notable change in the conditions of the Profession is its subdivision into specialties. We have not only Oculists, Aurists, and Dentists, but Gynæcologists, Dermatologists, Laryngologists, Orthopedists, practitioners devoted to nervous diseases, Alienists, and the guardians of public health, — Sanitarians.

Among the remarkable improvements of the present century, which have been taught and made practical here as elsewhere are the following: The introduction and perfection of instruments of research, — the stethoscope, the medical thermometer, the sphygmometer, the ophthalmoscope, the laryngoscope; all showing us the condition of parts beyond the reach of the earlier and unaided methods of observation.

Our knowledge of the intimate organic changes connected with disease has been acquired to a great extent within the last half century by that signal improvement in the compound microscope which rendered it a trustworthy instrument. The almost entirely new science of Histology, or General Anatomy, — the broad idea of which is still to be found in the original work of Bichat, — owes its present condition entirely to the microscope, which is to the biologist what the telescope is to the astronomer. Out of its teachings have grown not only a new anatomy, but a new physiology and a new pathology.

In the mean time chemistry has not merely aided in the analysis of the material elements of the organism, but it has succeeded in eliminating great numbers of powerful principles from the compounds in which they were disguised by nature. Quinia, morphia, strychnia, and aconitia are examples of isolated organic elements which have the essential virtues of the plants from which they were derived. Nor are we to forget our obligations to the pharmaceutists who have divested medicine of its horrors to such an extent that we no longer shudder as we see the physician writing his prescriptions.

It is but a fractional power that the physician has over disease, and a comparatively small fraction over the issues of life and death. But he can avoid the errors of the past, which over drugged the sick in the belief that whatever was loathsome to the senses and perturbing to the functions was likely to be useful in disease. Nor is the healing art to rest contented with simple expectation. The discovery of the efficacy of the bromide of potassium in epilepsy and other nervous affections, of salicylic acid and its salts in rheumatism, show us what may be expected before another half century has passed into history.

Of the triumphs of modern surgery, — Listerism and the rest, — of advances in the treatment of deformities and of various local diseases, I have not spoken. After what we have seen accomplished in the removal of abdominal tumors, we hardly know what limits to put to the happy audacity of the skilful operator. We ought not to forget here the important contributions made by one of our own townsmen, — Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, — to the successful treatment of dislocations of the hip, and to

the improvement of the operation of lithotrity. The greatest of all improvements since the first operator took a knife in his hand is unquestionably the discovery of the art of painless surgery at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

III. Medical Authorship. — Boston has not been so prolific of medical publications as some other of our great cities, especially Philadelphia. A large part of our medical authorship has been in the form of contributions to the publications of the Massachusetts Medical Society and to the two or three Medical Journals which have been published in Boston from the year 1812 to the present time. The principal writers of the first half of the present century were Dr. James Jackson, Dr. J. C. Warren, Dr. Bigelow, Dr. John Ware, Dr. Channing, Dr. Hayward, Dr. J. B. S. Jackson. The writers of the last thirty years have been very numerous, and are most of them still living and active. Of these I should make honorable mention if their names were ready for a place upon a public monument. Of those no longer living I will only name Dr. J. Mason Warren and Dr. Edward Hammond Clarke. An essay by Dr. Clarke, — *Sex in Education*, — was very widely read, and gave rise to a prolonged and animated discussion by various advocates and opponents of its doctrines.

I think it may be fairly claimed for the publications of Boston physicians that while they have not included many text-books and compilations, or been largely given to theoretical speculation, they have contributed in fair proportion to the practical knowledge of the profession; and especially that the reports of cases, with the comments upon them which have been published in our local periodicals and in the catalogues of our museums, have a real and permanent value.

IV. Personal recollections of noted Physicians. — The artist who paints a group of portraits often leaves some figures in the background in shadow, or half averted, or at any rate too indistinct for easy recognition. He sometimes takes the liberty in painting an historical picture of introducing one or more personages whose right to be there might be disputed.

I claim a privilege like that of the artist in introducing the first personage of those I shall mention. Once only did my eyes fall upon the figure of the most venerable Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, who passed the greater portion of his life in Salem, but belonged in part to us as President of the Massachusetts Medical Society, to the whole community by his talents and virtues, and more singularly as one of the few centenarians whose age was so much a matter of public record that it could not be questioned by the most sceptical. He survives only as a shadowy silhouette in my memory, like the well known figure which a paper-cutting has preserved of him. His portrait at the ages of forty-five and of one hundred may be found in the memoir of him by his townsman, the late Dr. A. L. Pearson. *Stat*

nominis umbra in my pages; but it pleases me to tell my reader that I remember the good and wise old patriarch who was born within the twelvemonth in which Cotton Mather died, and who must have met in his daily walks many old persons who as children had witnessed the hanging of the witches.

My personal recollections of Boston physicians go back to Dr. John Jeffries, who died in 1819. He came, probably, to administer the professional *coup de grace* to an aged relative of my own, who had been given up by his attending physician, and only awaited the final word of a skilled and ancient expert to authorize his departing in peace. Dr. Jeffries was accompanied by his son "the young doctor," whom I lived to know as "the old doctor," and who died in 1876. I have very little to say of the impression which the father made upon me, a boy eight years old, to whom an old physician was an object of personal dread and antipathy. Dr. Jeffries, or "Jeffers" as the old ladies used to call him, was always remembered in connection with his famous balloon ascent. It is not so generally known that he had the signal distinction of being recognized as a medical theorist by one of the best known of modern professional writers, Broussais, who devotes some pages to him in his *Examen des Doctrines Médicales*. The late Dr. Jacob Bigelow, in his last years, entertained me with personal anecdotes of the old Doctor which showed that he had his whims and peculiarities as well as his virtues and talents. This recollection is hardly worth preserving; still it was something to have seen the man who first crossed the British Channel, not by water but by air; who walked among the dead of Bunker's hill battle and pointed out the body of Joseph Warren to those who were searching for it in the heaps of slain; and who helped to deprovincialize the medical science of Boston.

I might well have seen Dr. Samuel Danforth, — "Danfurt" as the common speech would have it, — who died ten years after the time when I looked upon Dr. Jeffries. I used often to hear him spoken of as being asked in "consultation," as the extreme unction of the healing art is called. If "old Dr. Danfurt" or "old Dr. Jeffers" was seen entering a sick man's door, it was very likely to mean nothing more or less than a *nunc dimittis*. Dr. Danforth's handsome features are well known to us in the fine portrait painted by Stuart and lithographed in Thacher's *American Medical Biography*. It is a pity that we do not know more about him. He was very positive, somewhat passionate; swore like our army in Flanders, and did not care much for other people's beliefs. Of course he was an interesting personage; but he has special claims to professional remembrance as having anticipated the practitioners of our own time in entirely giving up blood-letting. His *materia medica* was very limited, having as its leading articles the same four remedies which, as has been mentioned, were most relied upon by Dr. Holyoke and his pupil Dr. James Jackson. These he supplemented by rubbing, blistering, and the warm bath. He quarrelled with Dr. James Jackson, with whom it was very hard to quarrel, and must, *a fortiori*, have

had difficulty with others of the profession, for he could not bear opposition. But he was a great favorite with his patients, and commanded their entire confidence.

Still in the background, and a little at one side, — for they were not Boston physicians, but lived on the other shore of the river at Cambridge, — are three figures belonging to three physicians, each of whom is a typical representative of a class; all distinct images in my memory.

Benjamin Waterhouse, whose name stands on his title-pages over an inverted pyramid of titles of great dimensions, studied in London, Edinburgh, and Leyden, at the last of which places he took his medical degree in the year 1780, — the same in which died the learned Professor Gaubius, a pupil of the world-renowned Boerhaave. He was a relative of the excellent Dr. Fothergill of London, with whom he used, as he tells us, to drive upon his rounds of medical visits. He will be long and deservedly remembered as having introduced vaccination into the Western world. He was for some years Professor of Theory and Practice in Harvard University. He speaks of himself as Director of the Military Department comprehending the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. He may have voluntarily relinquished practice; but whether this were so or not, I never remember hearing of any patient under his care. He had however vaccinated great numbers of persons, myself among the rest. He probably liked to write and lecture and talk about medicine better than to practise it. A brisk, dapper old gentleman, with hair tied in a ribbon behind and I think powdered, marching smartly about with his gold-headed cane, with a look of questioning sagacity, and an utterance of oracular gravity, — the good people of Cambridge listened to his learned talk when they were well, and sent for one of the other two doctors when they were sick. Two brief extracts from an essay of his will sufficiently show his way of thinking and prescribing: —

"As to planetary influence, mentioned by Boerhaave and Mead, — the various aspects of the sun and moon; their accessions, recessions, perpendicular or oblique irradiations, conjunctions, and oppositions; and their effects on us through the medium of our atmosphere, — we are not prepared to express a decided opinion. . . . Millipedes have been given with good effect in whooping cough. . . . Physicians in the last century thought they could not practise without millipedes; while too many in this day believe them good for nothing."

All this was rather too mediæval for Cambridge in the nineteenth century.

While Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was walking about with his gold-headed cane, like a London physician *minus* his chariot and his patients, Dr. William Gamage was riding round on a rhubarb-colored horse with his saddlebags behind him, and stopping at door after door. Grim, taciturn, rough in aspect, his visits to the household were the nightmare of the nursery. He would look at the tongue, feel of the pulse, and shake from one of his phials a horrible mound of powdered ipecac, or a revolting heap of rhubarb, —

good stirring remedies that meant business, but left a flavor behind them which embittered the recollections of childhood. This was the kind of practice many patients preferred in those days; they liked to know they had taken something energetic and active, — of which fact they were soon satisfied after one of Dr. Gamage's prescriptions.

While Dr. Waterhouse was airing his erudition on foot and Dr. Gamage was jogging round on horseback with his saddlebags, Dr. Timothy L. Jennison was driving about in an ancient chaise drawn by a venerable nag, chiefly, it may be suspected, to exercise the quadruped and get the benefit of the fresh air for himself, — for his practice could hardly have been considerable, though I do remember hearing that he was employed by one family. I believe he was the safest practitioner of the three, for he was accused of over fondness for old womens' harmless vegetable prescriptions, — which means that he gave Nature a fairer chance than she is apt to have in the hands of learned theorists and heroic routinists.

The young man whom Dr. Danforth found it hard to get along with was his successor in public esteem as a practitioner. Family connection gave me the opportunity of knowing him well. He was my revered friend as well as my instructor, and my longer and fuller acquaintance with him enables me to confirm all that Dr. Green says in his praise.

Dr. James Jackson was one of three brothers who became eminent, each in his several pursuit. Charles, the eldest, as a lawyer; Patrick, the youngest, as a manufacturer and man of business; and James, as a physician. He was long recognized as the head of the profession in its medical department, — as his friend and contemporary, Dr. John Collins Warren, was the first among Boston surgeons. Dr. Jackson studied with Dr. Holyoke in Salem, and afterward attended the hospitals in London. The name of Mr. Cline, the distinguished surgeon, is the one I have oftenest heard him mention among those of the teachers he followed through the wards of their hospitals. He soon found that it was best to restrict himself to medical practice, leaving surgery to his friend and contemporary Dr. Warren. Side by side, in a city of moderate dimension, they labored during their long lives, without any jar or collision to disturb their friendly relations.

Dr. Jackson had the happy union of mental and moral qualities which was seen in his "old master," as he always called him, — the venerable and well remembered centenarian, Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke. Of serenely cheerful aspect, pleasant, inspiriting manner, always neatly and plainly dressed, exact in all his habits, punctual as the morning sun, searching in his inquiries and examinations, precise to minuteness in his directions, full of the sober wisdom of experience, but always open to new conviction, incapable of any unworthy effort to obtain public favor, it came to him in virtue of his talents, his entire devotion to his profession, and the confidence inspired by a pure and noble character. It was not only the public which looked up to him as an honor to his calling, but he was reverenced by his professional brethren as a model as near perfection for sound mental

and exalted moral qualities as human nature was like to furnish, — something in the way that Hermann Boerhaave was regarded in his day and generation, and has been since remembered. A sounder nature to the very heart of its being it would be hard to find in life or in books. What his relations with his fellow-practitioners were may be judged by the "Prefatory and Dedicatory" Epistle to Dr. John C. Warren prefixed to his "Letters to a young Physician." Medical theories and medical practice may change, but the spirit which animates that dedication to his old rival and friend cannot lose its virtue with the lapse of years. It is not unworthy of taking a place on the next page to that which holds the Oath of Hippocrates. The medical profession in Boston has long felt and still feels the influence of a man above all jealousies, whose whole life was an illustration of what the physician should be as a student of nature, as a helper by his art, as a fellow-worker with others in his beneficent occupation.

Dr. John Collins Warren, the great Boston surgeon of his time, has just been referred to as the most prominent contemporary of Dr. Jackson. In the Dedication above cited Dr. Jackson says to him: —

> "You and I began our active lives in this city nearly at the same time. . . . We were so circumstanced as to be peculiarly rivals. Our business led us across each other's paths every day for a long series of years. What one gained the other seemed to lose. . . . We do not resemble each other in temperament, and cannot see all things alike. From this cause, and not always looking at objects from the same point of view, we often differed in opinion. But we have always agreed to differ. . . . And thus it is, that being now, as regards age, in the front rank in our profession, we have continued to this day on terms of intimacy and friendship. This is something to rejoice in, and something for which we may properly thank God; and I know you will join me in giving thanks reverently."

Dr. John Collins Warren was indeed very different in temperament from Dr. James Jackson. A spare man, with strongly marked features, of austere expression, authoritative manners, sometimes careless, occasionally aiming at elegance in personal presentment, devout, but far from deficient in that wisdom which belongs to the children of this world in their generation, — he commanded allegiance and obedience where Dr. Jackson inspired love and confidence. As a surgeon he was supreme among his fellows, and deservedly so. He was one of the best educated medical men of his generation among us. He had a good intellect, a sure hand, an imperturbable spirit, a strenuous ambition, a persevering industry, and an entire surrender of all his faculties to his professional duties. He performed a great number of difficult operations; always deliberate, always cool, with a grim smile in sudden emergencies where weaker men would have looked perplexed and wiped their foreheads, — for he had the stuff in him which carried his uncle Joseph Warren to Bunker Hill and left him there, slain among the last in retreat. He was for more than forty years a teacher of anatomy, physiology, and surgery in the medical department of Harvard University, to which he be-

queathed his large collection of anatomical and pathological specimens, with a handsome provision for its preservation and increase. He left one valuable work as his record, *A Treatise on Tumors*, and many papers on practical and scientific subjects. He took part with Dr. James Jackson in the measures which led to the founding of the Massachusetts General Hospital. He will be long remembered in the annals of American surgery, as well as in our local medical history; but he was one of those men who by the force of their personality exercise an influence on their own generation not wholly to be explained by what they leave after them for posterity.

Dr. Jacob Bigelow came into practice some ten years later than Drs. Warren and Jackson. A man of great natural endowments and varied acquisitions, he was prominent for more than half a century before our community, and was recognized as the head of the profession in Boston after Dr. Jackson had ceased from his labors. Dr. Jackson once said to me: "If there is one grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff, nobody will find it so quick as Dr. Bigelow." Sagacity,—an instinct for the pith of a question like that of the ferret for the spinal cord of its victim,—this was one of Dr. Bigelow's remarkable characteristics, but one among many. He was more widely accomplished than any member of the medical profession we have had in Boston, probably than any medical man we have had in this country. Grave of aspect, he was yet a man of infinite humor. A busy practitioner, he found time for a wide range of studies and important services to the community. He was one of the earliest of our native botanists, and published two valuable works on the subject, — the *American Medical Botany* and the *Florula Bostoniensis*. He studied the useful and ornamental arts and lectured in Harvard University upon them, under the general name "Technology," which he first used, and applied to the work he published on these arts. He also published a brief, perspicuous, sensible work on *Materia Medica*. In 1835 he delivered a lecture on self-limited diseases, which has probably had more influence than any single medical essay ever published in New England, to say the least. He was an ardent lover of the classics and an excellent Latin scholar. He gave much time to the study of architecture, and made with his own hands beautiful models of some of the most famous edifices of antiquity. In his later years he entered with great interest into the question of the place which the classics ought to hold in education. His essays on this and various other subjects were published in two volumes. Besides these he published, anonymously, a volume of pleasant verse, in which some of his friends found themselves ingeniously parodied without being aggrieved by harsh handling. But of all his extra-professional services the most important was the leading part which he took in the creation of rural cemeteries. Mount Auburn owes its inception as a cemetery more to him than to any other man; and this was the first of numerous attractive suburban burial-places which have sprung up all over the land.

Dr. Bigelow was a man of very quiet and unassuming manners, grave in counsel, lively in conversation, patient in waiting until others had had their say, and then expressing his own opinion with judicial precision and sententiousness. Calm, cool, cheerful, always busy, yet never seeming hurried, his very long and useful life was also a singularly happy one. Nothing could subdue his equanimity. He became blind in his later years; but as the loss of sight gradually stole upon him, he seemed to take the pleasure of a child in teaching his hands to work without the aid of vision. At last, hardly able to distinguish light from darkness, his hearing much impaired, his limbs disabled so that he was confined to his bed, he still kept his pleasant smile and hearty welcome for his friends, delighted in telling of the noted persons and scenes he remembered, tasked his memory for passages from the classics and from English poetry, — oftenest perhaps from Byron, especially *Childe Harold*, — and after long lingering in painless but utterly helpless dependence upon the kind ministration of others, at the age of ninety-two, faded away from a life which had come to be but the name of living.

Dr. John Ware deserves to be named with the best of those I have mentioned. His name was almost of itself a guarantee of excellence; but his personal merits would have commended him to the confidence of any community where he might have appeared as a stranger. Very gentle, very amiable, very conscientious, his natural modesty kept him from challenging public attention as emphatically as his ability and knowledge might have entitled him to do. Two essays, however, the results of close observation and careful study, gave him a high reputation, — his papers on Croup and Delirium Tremens. He followed Dr. James Jackson in the chair of Theory and Practice in the medical school of Harvard University, and proved himself a worthy successor of that admirable and revered teacher.

A few years only have elapsed since the death of Dr. John Barnard Swett Jackson, nephew of Dr. James Jackson, and in his own sphere not less entitled to honorable remembrance. He was never in large practice, and was comparatively little known to the general public; but his labors in the field of pathological anatomy made an era in the medical history of Boston. Never before had the effects of disease upon the organs been so patiently and faithfully studied in this part of the country, at least, as after he began his labors in connection with the Society for Medical Improvement. He was the life of that society for a whole generation, laying before its members the results of the examinations which for many years he made for his professional brethren, almost to the exclusion of others who were thankful to commit a delicate and often repulsive task to his always willing hands. He it was chiefly who built up the select but most valuable pathological museum of that society. As Professor of Pathological Anatomy in the medical school of Harvard University, and Curator of the Warren Anatomical Museum, he classified and arranged the specimens in that collection, and greatly increased its value by his own constant additions.

His two catalogues, large octavo volumes, are of far more significance than the name catalogue would imply, being not merely a guide to the specimens, but containing a great amount of important practical information, — brief histories of the essential symptoms of cases, often of rare diseases, with a lucid and entirely trustworthy account of the organic changes observed after death. Dr. John B. S. Jackson was too sensitive for eminent success as a practitioner. He followed the wise guidance of instinct in choosing the scientific rather than the immediately practical part of medicine. He served the profession, and through that the public. His professional brothers repaid him with their gratitude and respect. It was at the request of many among them that he sat for the portrait painted by William M. Hunt, which at the present time is deposited in the hall of the Boston Medical Library Association.

All these of whom I have spoken lived to be old men, and thus imprinted their personal qualities deeply on their fellow-townsmen. Many others of our deceased practitioners are held in well defined remembrance, and would receive their due tribute in a more extended memoir. Several family names have become associated with eminence and success in the practice of medicine; and where the names have been lost, the blood has asserted its hereditary predilections for the medical profession. There has hardly been a year for more than a century in which "Dr. Warren" or "Dr. Jeffries" could not be called upon by his Boston fellow-citizens for his services as surgeon or physician. Dr. Jackson is represented by his grandchildren and other blood relations; Dr. Bigelow, Dr. Hayward, Dr. Channing, Dr. Putnam, Dr. Shattuck, Dr. Homans, are names as familiar to the young people of to-day as they were to their parents and grandparents. The memories of the past yet survive in our two honored medical brethren, — the venerable Dr. Edward Reynolds, and the indefatigable Dr. David Humphreys Storer, who still attends to his professional duties as he did in the youthful period of the century.

The true value of a good physician is not to be measured by the fame he acquires or the name he bequeaths to posterity. Many men have become known all over the world, and received the honors of stately biographies, who have really done less good to mankind than the faithful practitioners who have lived unknown beyond their own narrow circle, and died unremembered beyond their own generation. The most famous of American physicians is undoubtedly the excellent and versatile Dr. Benjamin Rush. A biographer says of him: "His name is a brilliant star in the galaxy of American worthies. His fame associates with the renown of Howard, Sydenham, Cullen, Boyle, Davies, and Washington. His memory, like their memories, will endure until time shall be immersed in the ocean of eternity." After language like this, and much more like it, let the reader turn to the judgment passed upon one of his legacies to the profession by Dr. Elisha Bartlett: "Dr. Rush had also a special doctrine or theory of fever, to which he seems to have attached much importance, and which he seems to

have regarded as very sound, logical, and philosophical. It may be safely said, I think, that in the whole compass of medical literature there cannot be found an equal number of pages containing a greater amount and variety of utter nonsense and unqualified absurdity, a more heterogeneous and ill-adjusted an assemblage, not merely of unsupported, but of unintelligible and preposterous assertions, than are embodied in his exposition of this theory." Compare this severe judgment with the same writer's estimate of Dr. Rush's brother physican, Dr. William Currie: "Dr. Currie was a contemporary of Dr. Rush, and a practitioner in the same city. His general descriptions of disease are quite as good, to say the least, as those of his distinguished fellow-citizen, and his medical philosophy infinitely sounder and more rational." Yet in the same biographical dictionaries where we find the flaming praises of Dr. Rush, the name of Dr. William Currie is not even mentioned. A medical theorist, with a gift of fluent expression, will go down to posterity in a triumphal chariot of eulogy, while a quiet, sensible practitioner, whose life has been spent in useful service, is hardly remembered at all by the generation which comes after him.

Many such men as this have lived and labored and died among us, — too many to be mentioned in this brief article. They did not seek for fame in the broad highway of ambition, but were content to follow the narrow path of duty. If there were a Day of all Saints for the departed worthies of the Medical Profession, for every name that I have spoken of there would be a score to claim a place upon the roll of memory. I have thought that the few shadowy reminiscences I have given might gather interest by the lapse of years, when the personages to whom they relate shall be to our descendants but vague and indistinct images, as William Douglass and Zabdiel Boylston and William Aspinwall are to us of the present generation.

Oliver Wendell Holmes

CHAPTER XI.

THE BENCH AND BAR IN BOSTON.

BY JOHN T. MORSE, JR.,

Editor of the International Review.

WHEREVER Englishmen inhabit, courts and litigation prevail. Even the New England fathers, whose chief object in life was the cultivation of virtue, sinned, quarrelled, and over-reached each other sufficiently to render tribunals of justice a necessity at a very early day. Indeed, they indulged in such a multiplicity of courts and magistrates as now appears quite confusing; and how so many judges, justices, and commissioners could find occupation in a small and poor community is a very perplexing question. One forum, however, they had which has since disappeared, and which might have been well worth preserving. This was the strangers' or merchants' court, established for the speedy determination of questions in which temporary sojourners in our seaports were interested, who could thus obtain justice without over costly delay. In 1651, also, another special court of seven Commissioners was found necessary for Boston, as was said, by reason of the concourse of people and the increase of crime in the Puritan town; but some jealousy of this tribunal was manifested, and at the end of the year, for which it was first established, it was not continued.

Yet though there was thus early not only a Bench, but many Benches, and divers supplementary and inferior courts besides, it was long before there was any Bar.[1] For many years there was no distinct class of attorneys; and when, in 1701, attorneys were recognized as officers of the court, and were required to take an oath before practising, still no term of study was required, and apparently no examination was had, so that the way was broad enough for any one to enter. Occasionally some one who had had a professional education in England found his way to

[1] [Thomas Lechford seems to have been the earliest Boston lawyer. See Vol. I., p. 503. — ED.]

the colony; but, as may be imagined, the sparse wanderers failed to have much influence upon the general customs and practice. As a rule every one was supposed, alike by himself and by others, to be abundantly able to plead his own cause; and even so late as 1746 it was observed that the people were especially "addicted to quirks of the law, . . . "so that a very ordinary countryman in New England is almost qualified for a country attorney in England." Even when it naturally befell that some individuals, gifted beyond their fellows in art or eloquence, were occasionally engaged to represent their less shrewd and eloquent neighbors, we find them for a long time to have had other regular callings in life. For example, one favorite attorney was by customary occupation a tailor; others were merchants. Bullivant, whose "knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of attorney-general," which he filled apparently with credit to himself, was an apothecary and medical practitioner, and withal an active politician.[1] It was rarely that even the judges had had the advantages of a legal education. Judge Lynde[2] took his seat on the Bench of the Superior Court in 1712, and was the first judge of that court who had been regularly trained to the profession. Afterward came also Chief-Justice Joseph Dudley,[3] son of the first Governor Dudley, and himself the father of Paul Dudley, who was likewise Chief-Justice of Massachusetts from 1748 to 1751. But a very short list of incumbents really trained in the calling fills the rather uninteresting professional record of the eighteenth century.

For a long time the governors were *ex officio* judges presiding in the Court of Assistants, the assistants being officers of the corporation chosen annually by the freemen at the meeting of the General Court in Easter Term. It might sometimes happen that there was not an educated lawyer among them; though some of the governors were not ill-qualified for the judicial function. John Winthrop, for example, had been educated for the Bar in England; so also had Governor Bellingham, who, however, it may be supposed, was more willing to enforce the observance of the laws by others than to abide by them at all times himself. A droll story is told of his courtship, a foil to the popular tale concerning Miles Standish and John Alden. A friend of his, who lodged at his house, was engaged to be married, and the wedding-day was at hand; when the governor, upon a sudden finding himself enamored of the lady, "treated with her, and obtained her for himself." The affair was speedily brought to a conclusion "by the governor's marrying himself, without first publishing the banns, as required by law." A Puritan grand jury, however, could not be expected to be a respecter of persons, and the governor was accordingly presented for his unlawful action. The secretary summoned him "to answer the prosecution;" but in his singular combination of characters, — governor, chief-justice, and culprit, — he dodged justice with admirable skill. He declined

[1] [See Vol. II., ch. i. — Ed.]

[2] [See his portrait in Vol. II., p. 558. — Ed.]

[3] [See his portrait in Vol. II., p. 334. — Ed.]

to leave his place on the bench in order to take a position in the dock, and thus "escaped both trial and punishment."[1] The outsiders, however, who meddled most with the law's administration were clergymen; nor was their interference always creditable to their sense of justice. Thus an action, apparently in the nature of slander, brought by a minister against a layman, was about to come on for trial, when the Rev. Mr. Barnard, sitting at dinner with the judges, stated to them that, when the cause should be tried, he would like to make a few remarks. Accordingly so soon as the plaintiff's counsel had opened the case, the reverend gentleman began interrogating the plaintiff. Not until he had concluded were the more regular proceedings continued. But at the close of the argument for the defendant, which was larded — rather ungratefully, as it appears — with "many fleers upon the ministry and our churches," the chief-justice gave the clergyman another chance; and he thereupon "paid his respects to the court and delivered his speech," and begged the magistrates to dismiss the action, which they forthwith did, glad to "get rid of so dirty an affair."

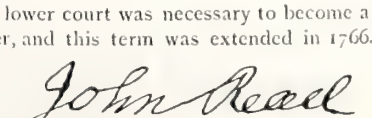
This is only a specimen of the prevailing condition of practice. Thus we hear of an instance where one juror, who was standing out against the eleven others, was called out by the attorney-general and obligingly directed as to what he should do. But when the refractory wretch refused to yield his opinion under such civil entreatment, he was starved into compliance, while his fellows received meat and drink; it being properly enough remarked that it was better that one man should be destroyed than eleven. Verdicts were sometimes rendered to the effect that there were strong grounds of suspicion, though falling short of proof; whereupon the court would sentence the defendant for such crime as it appeared probable that he had committed, though it had not been alleged in the indictment, nor perhaps even found by the jury. For example, a defendant indicted for forgery, which could not be proved, was reported by the jury to be a "cheat," and had to stand upon the court-house steps for half an hour at midday, having pinned upon his breast the forged bond and the label "cheat" in large letters. It was a rough but substantial justice, and had its advantages over more technical and less efficient systems. Appropriate to such crude and rough-hewn notions were also the manners of the judges, which are represented as execrably bad. They bullied and browbeat the counsel after the old-time English fashion, and promoted their own views rather than impartial justice. But, on the other hand, they themselves were liable to be treated with singular disrespect by members of the Bar who felt able to venture on such behavior. For example, one day when a miserable old woman came hobbling into court and could find no seat, the lawyer who had summoned her told her to go up on the judges' bench, which the old crone at once innocently proceeded to do. The wrath of the court was aroused: "How came you to do this?" said the judge, angrily addressing the lawyer. "I — I — really thought the place was made for old women," stammered the

[1] [See Vol. I., p. 575. — Ed.]

impudent counsel; and the judges thought it wise to let the matter drop. A yet more serious feature was the multiplicity of grossly inconsistent offices, which were often held by one and the same person; and at the present day we learn with surprise that Hutchinson was allowed to combine the positions of lieutenant-governor and of chief-justice, besides which he was also commander of the Castle, a member of the council, and judge of probate. Yet many instances as bad, or worse, can be given of a custom productive of infinite and obvious mischief. But miserable as was this farrago of ignorance, of demoralizing customs, and of evil principles, amid it all there were forming the elements of a courageous, independent, and learned Bar;[1] and when in time the days of trial came, we shall see that men who were both able and willing to vindicate in the courts the cause of the people were found to have gained all the needful training.

Jeremiah — or, as it was the fashion of the time to call him, Jeremy — Gridley has often been called the "Father of the Boston Bar;" and unquestionably he well deserved the name, though little can now be learned about him.[2] He was born "about 1705," says the *Biographical Dictionary*, which devotes four lines to his name; while the *Catalogue of Harvard College* shows that he graduated there in 1725. It is the pen of that true gossip, John Adams, which chiefly has rescued from oblivion the memory of this very estimable man. It was some little time before he found his real vocation in the world. He taught for a while in a grammar school in Boston, and occasionally also appeared in the pulpit. In 1732 he started a newspaper called *The Rehearsal*, which, however, only lived for a year. In time he came to the Bar. Apparently it was his influence, aided, perhaps, by that of Edmund Trowbridge, which gave the first impetus in Massachusetts in the direction of profound legal learning and a high professional spirit. "Pursue the study of the law," he said, "rather than the gain of it. Pursue the gain of it enough to keep out of the briers; but give your main attention to the study of it." This was a kind of advice quite novel in those days. In 1765 — less than three years before his death — the industrious old man formed a project of a "law club or sodality" for the purpose of reading and discussing works upon the civil law, and upon oratory. He had to seek his associates in the younger generation, where it was largely due to the effect of his own example that such a

[1] [One of the earliest to give character to the Bar was John Read (H. C. 1697), and the breaking up of the prejudice against lawyers was largely owing to his character. See his *Life* by George B. Reed, privately printed, 1879; see also Vol. II. p. 427. The title of "barrister" seems first to have been used in our courts by Thomas Newton, who came here in 1688 (see Vol. II., p 155); and was occasionally used by the elders of the Bar without any rule till 1761, when the Superior Court determined that three years' probation in a lower court was necessary to become a barrister, and this term was extended in 1766. In



1782 the Supreme Court was authorized to confer the degree of barrister-at-law; they never did so, however, after 1784. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1877, p. 207. — Ed.]

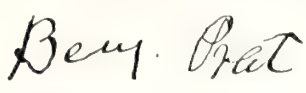
[2] [See Vol. II. p. 427. — Ed.]

scheme could find favor. John Adams, one of this club, delighted to call Gridley his "master," though he was not so in the strict sense of the phrase.

Adams's account in his Diary of his own early life at the Bar is the best sketch extant of the professional circle then living in Boston and the vicinity. He rode into town in 1758 with the intention of being admitted to practice; walked into the court-house, "and sat down by Mr. Paine at the lawyers' table. "I felt shy," he says, "under awe and concern; for Mr. Gridley, Mr. Prat, Mr. Otis, Mr. Kent, and Mr. Thacher were all present and looked sour. I had no acquaintance with anybody but Paine and Quincy, and they took but little notice." It would seem that business was not so abundant or so lucrative at that time as to permit those who divided it among themselves to welcome any increase of their numbers. Yet when Mr. Adams called on Mr. Gridley on the following day, he found himself kindly received. Gridley examined him as to his accomplishments, and gave him much good advice concerning his professional career, especially that he should not marry early, since an early marriage would "*obstruct improvement*," besides involving him in expense. Gridley made light of the fact that Mr. Adams had not brought with him the customary formal certificate from the gentleman with whom he had been reading. But Benjamin Prat, whom also Mr. Adams visited, in compliance with a custom requiring applicants for admission to the Bar to make the round of at least the more distinguished practising barristers and obtain their concurrence, thought the want of the certificate a more serious matter, justly suggesting that no one knew anything definite as to the young man's character and acquirements, to which some testimony should be adduced in the usual way. Thereupon Mr. Adams — who even at this early age dealt out his esteem or dislike wholly with reference to the behavior of the special individual toward himself — delivers a eulogy upon Gridley, and assails Prat with a vehemence which the impartial reader must regard as undeserved. Somewhat later, indeed, as if to keep the scales even, Gridley, having appeared a trifle too arrogant and vain in the presence of Mr. Adams, comes in for his share of that sensitive and peppery gentleman's abuse. Mr. Adams continued upon his canvassing tour in propitiation of the great lawyers, till he further visited James Otis and Oxenbridge Thacher, and being well received by them, appears to have rested content. When the day for admission came, Gridley "rose up, and bowed to his right hand and said, 'Mr. Quincy,' when Quincy (Samuel) rose up; then he bowed to me, 'Mr. Adams,' when I walked out." Then Mr. Gridley made a little speech in commendation of the accomplishments and character of the two young men; Mr. Prat followed with a few words; the oath was administered; the neophytes shook hands with the members of the Bar, "received their congratulations, and invited them over to Stone's to drink some punch, where the most of us resorted and had a very cheerful chat."

Though we have seen John Adams come away "full of wrath" from his interview with Benjamin Prat, and hasten to stigmatize him in his Diary as

at best an ill-natured man, yet there is no reason to doubt that Prat is entitled to rank with the best lawyers of the colony in his day and generation.



He was a man of extensive accomplishments and of very high standing, and certainly did wiser things in his life than when he wounded John Adams's vanity. "He was," says Hutchinson, "of the first character in his profession." About the time of the argument concerning the Writs of Assistance he was appointed Chief-Justice of New York, and removed thither, where about two years afterward he died, at the early age of fifty-two. While so many more interesting and important facts concerning him have been forgotten, it is carefully recorded that he was lame. Long after the grave had closed over the poor gentleman, and the memory of him was lapsing into meagre tradition, we find Mr. Adams speak in somewhat laudatory language of Prat. In 1817, when sixty years had softened the asperities which had found expression in the Diary of 1758, he wrote a few pages concerning the case of the Writs of Assistance. "In a corner of the room," he then said, "must be placed, as a spectator and an auditor, wit, sense, imagination, genius, pathos, reason, prudence, eloquence, learning, and immense reading, hanging by the shoulders on two crutches, covered with a great cloth coat, in the person of Mr. Prat, who had been solicited upon both sides, but would engage on neither, being, as Chief-Justice of New York, about to leave Boston forever."[1] This was, so far as can now be judged, a fair picture.

When the Stamp Act set the colony a-flame it had at least one effect which frivolous scoffers at the legal fraternity might say went far to counteract all its many other evil qualities. It put a stop to litigation. The people, finding they could have only stamped writs, would have none at all. With that exquisite lack of perspective which he never failed to manifest whenever his own figure entered into the picture, Mr. Adams abuses the "execrable project," which he believes to have been "set on foot for my ruin as well as that of America in general, and of Great Britain." But his fellow-citizens came to the rescue of Mr. Adams as well as to that of America in general; and in order to be sure of doing this wisely and effectually, they voted unanimously in town-meeting that Jeremiah Gridley, James Otis, and John Adams, Esquires, be "applied to as counsel to appear before His Excellency the Governor in council, in support of their memorial praying that the courts of law in this province may be opened." A few days later these three gentlemen were privately heard, but obtained nothing better than a tolerably civil dismissal. For some little time afterward they appear to have acted as advising counsel for their townsfolk in those troublous days, when rendering legal service to the patriots was a matter not only

[1] [John Adams's *Works*, x. 245; Washburn, *Judicial History of Massachusetts*, p. 225, refers to an address from the Bar to Prat on his leaving for New York, as evidence of the high esteem in which he was held. This address was printed in the newspapers. Prat's office was on the west side of the present Washington Street, just north of Court Street. — Ed.]

of professional difficulty, but of political and possibly even of personal danger.

Too many of the gentlemen who really adorned the Bar at this time have left little save their names to posterity; yet, as we peer into the dim obscurity of the past wherein their scarcely distinguishable shades flit through the streets of old Boston, they look to us very picturesque and interesting personages, and it is sad to find that they will not disclose themselves to us in more distinct outline. Besides those whom we have already mentioned, it is right, if we can do little more, at least to name Robert Auchmuty, a

AUTOGRAPHS OF FATHER AND SON.[1]

gentleman who seems to have stood much higher in the general estimation than in that of Mr. Adams, in whose pages it is his misfortune now chiefly to live. For a time he was regarded by many persons as at the head of the Bar. He was appointed a judge of the Special Court of Admiralty, upon which Bench sat, among others, Governor Bernard and Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, to whom, if Adams may be trusted, Auchmuty behaved with an ignoble servility. Two years earlier Adams wrote of him: —

"Auchmuty is employed in sessions and everywhere; the same heavy, dull, insipid way of arguing everywhere; as many repetitions as a Presbyterian parson in his prayer. . . . Such nauseous eloquence always puts my patience to the torture. In what is this man conspicuous? . . . in confidence, in dogmatism, etc. His wit is flat, his humor is affected and dull. To have this man represented as the first at the Bar is a libel upon it, a reproach and disgrace to it."

Adams's abuse always makes lively reading, but, as in this instance, is apt to represent a single and often also a singular opinion.

Richard Dana, — or Justice Dana, as he was commonly called, — a little older than Auchmuty, was the founder of the well-known Dana family. He it was who in the presence of a great assemblage of the angry townspeople, standing under the Liberty Tree, administered to Mr. Secretary Oliver the oath[2] that he had not distributed, and that he would take no measures for distributing, the odious stamps, nor for enforcing the hateful act of the British Parliament.

Benjamin Kent began life as a clergyman, — a calling so utterly out of keeping with his disposition that he soon left the pulpit for the bar. He

[1] [The elder died in 1750, the younger in 1788. The younger at one time lived in School Street. The Auchmuty House in Roxbury, often the resort of Auchmuty's Tory friends, is engraved in Vol. II. p. 343. A sister of the younger Auchmuty was the wife of Benjamin Prat. — Drake's *Roxbury*, p. 209. — Ed.]

[2] [See fac-simile in Vol. III., ch. i. — Ed.]

was a humorist, not sufficiently reverent of things divine to please his strait-laced contemporaries; he was "for fun, drollery, humor, flouts, jeers, contempt. He has an irregular, unmethodical head, but his thoughts are often good, and his expressions happy." At a merry dinner of the brethren of the Bar we find Kent, doubtless with a very excellent satire for those times, presenting a project for an Act of Parliament against devils. His theory of life and religion was that this existence was only one — and perhaps not the first one — of an unending series of periods of probation and so of advancement; not so bad a notion in itself, perhaps, but too original and devoid of Biblical authority to please the Bostonians of that day. When the troubles between the colonies and the mother country came to a head, Kent went to Halifax, thereby giving currency to the opinion that he was a Loyalist refugee, though there seems some reason to doubt the propriety of thus ranking him.[1]

Oxenbridge Thacher seems, from what insufficient glimpses we get of him, to have been a man of charming character, having the cultivation of a gentleman and the knowledge of a profound and ingenious lawyer. He was a silvery-tongued and persuasive speaker, happily combining subtilety and clearness in his arguments. His father, a colonel and a deacon, was "a very holy man," supposably "not well pleased with his son's preferring the law," rather wishing that he should be a deacon; though why the position of deacon should have been more incompatible with the legal than with the military profession, does not clearly appear. Probably it was due to his father's influence that Mr. Thacher, after graduating at Harvard College in 1738, studied divinity and became a clergyman; and perhaps it was natural distaste for this calling which induced him to abandon it, on the odd ground that his voice was too weak, and to adopt a vocation for which doubtless he was better fitted, but for which a feeble voice has never been considered a peculiar qualification. At one time, when James Otis was apparently wavering in his attachment to the cause of the colonies, and the suspicion had gone widely abroad that he had fallen a victim to the bribes and blandishments of Governor Hutchinson, it was attributed to the influence of Thacher, strongly exerted with his friend, that Otis was brought back and strengthened in his patriotic faith and attachments. Thacher himself was a sound patriot, greatly to the disgust of the king's party in the province, for he was a man who had gained for himself both love and respect. When Hutchinson had the audacity to make himself chief-justice for an obvious political purpose, Thacher spoke with

[1] [Sabine, *American Loyalists*. Washburn classes him as a Loyalist. He died in Halifax in 1788. — Ed.]

great freedom and indignation of the indefensible proceeding. It was impossible to bribe or silence him, and equally impossible to defame his character or actions. He won, therefore, the distinction of an exceptional animosity. The Tories "hated him," says John Adams, "worse than they did James Otis or Samuel Adams; and they feared him more, because they had no revenge for a father's disappointment of a seat on the Superior Bench to impute to him, as they did to Otis." Mr. Thacher died in 1765, of a pulmonary complaint, which was believed to have been aggravated by his extreme anxiety concerning public affairs. He was but little abroad among men during his latter days, by reason of his ill-health, and he was greatly concerned lest his countrymen were not showing a sufficiently high and quick spirit in resenting the royal encroachments, — a needless alarm, indeed, but highly honorable to him who, in his sick chamber, cherished so independent and courageous a temper.[1]

Stephen Sewall, whose father also had been a lawyer, belonged to a family which has given many distinguished names to the history of Massachusetts. He "stood very high in public esteem for his honor, integrity, moderation, and great benevolence." He was made Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, and held that position when the application was made for the granting of a Writ of Assistance. He "expressed great doubt of the legality of such a writ, and of the authority of the court to grant it." But within a month after the application, and before the hearing in the cause, he died, greatly to the chagrin of the patriot party. As ill fortune would have it, his estate proved insufficient to pay his debts; and his nephew, Jonathan Sewall, acting as administrator, petitioned the Legislature for a grant of money to enable him to satisfy the creditors. The ground taken was that the chief-justice had been rendered insolvent by reason of his public spirit in serving upon an inadequate salary. Jonathan Sewall[2] was himself a member of the Bar in excellent repute as a lawyer, and very popular as a man, and thus far in his career had leaned to the popular side in the various disputes with Great Britain. But in the matter of this petition he encountered the successful opposition of Colonel Otis, and of his son, the famous James Otis. This angered Sewall greatly, and Governors Bernard and Hutchinson, and Judge Trowbridge, were sedulous in their efforts to make this resentment a cause of political separation. Calling also to their aid the seductions of official position, they achieved an unfortunate success in their schemes, and thereafter Jonathan Sewall was to be ranked as a stanch Tory. He had his reward in the several places of solicitor-general, attorney-general, advocate-general, and judge of admiralty "with six thousands a year;" but he does

[1] [Thacher's office was opposite the south door of the Old State House. — Ed.]

[2] [Sewall lived at one time in the house, now greatly changed, on the westerly corner of Brattle and Sparks streets in Cambridge. He was mobbed here in September, 1774, and fled into Boston. General Riedesel occupied this house in 1777–78. — Ed.]

not hold that position in the memory of posterity which his abilities would have insured to him had he been steadfast in his earlier political faith.

A nephew of Jeremiah Gridley was Benjamin Gridley, who also was called to the Bar; but though apparently he had sufficiently good abilities, he turned out nothing better than a lazy wag. "He has no business of any kind; lies abed till 10 o'clock; drinks, laughs, and frolics, but neither studies nor practises his profession."

Edmund Trowbridge, born in 1709, an eminent lawyer and admirable man, was made Attorney-General of the Province in 1749, and was afterward deservedly raised to the post of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Unfortunately, however, his Tory predilections led him to consort with Governors Bernard and Hutchinson, and he became in time very unpopular with the people at large, though his kindness of disposition served to preserve most of his personal friendships. In 1772 he resigned his seat upon the Bench, and retired to the little village of Byfield, where he long remained.[1] His ostensible excuse was that he wished to escape the small-pox, then epidemic in Boston; but it was shrewdly surmised that he was more afraid of the patriots than of disease. In Byfield he instructed Theophilus Parsons in the law.[2] He had the finest law library then in the Province, a rare and valuable possession in those days. He had also another less harmless possession, being a large full-length portrait of Governor Hutchinson, in a handsome frame, which he kept in his parlor, to the alarm of his family, who dreaded that it might induce a foray from the lawless Sons of Liberty. Accordingly, one day, when Trowbridge was away from home, they cut out and burned the canvass, and put in its place a portrait, by Copley, of Justice Richard Dana. Trowbridge died in Cambridge in 1793, at the ripe age of ninety-four, leaving a high reputation for professional learning, to which Chief-Justice Parsons and Chancellor Kent afterward bore willing testimony. It is an odd circumstance that at different times he had two names, and appears during a part of his life, at least, to have been known by them both indifferently. He was the adopted child and heir of Colonel Edmund Goffe, and took the name of Goffe in early youth; but afterward, toward the time of the Revolution, he reassumed his original name of Trowbridge. It has been suggested in explanation of this, that Colonel Goffe was a connection of the regicide judge, and that the Tory proclivities of Trowbridge made him unwilling in such times of revolt to bear the disloyal name. But this theory is a mere surmise, resting on no sufficient authority.[3]

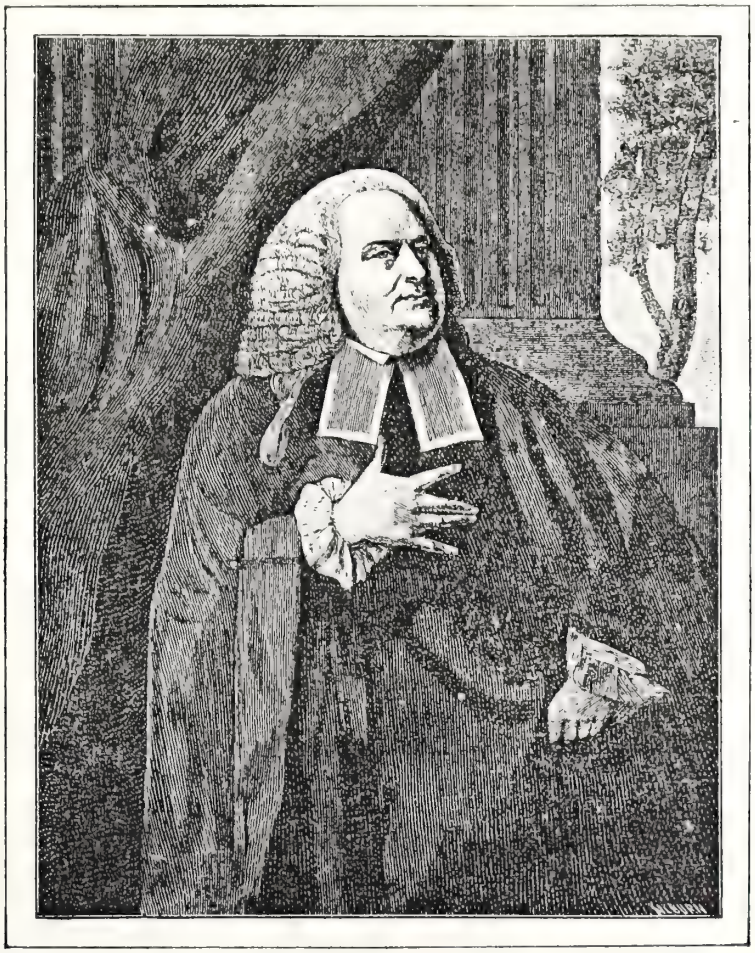
No adequate sketch of the Bar of Boston in this pre-Revolutionary period could be complete, without a narrative of one of the most important

[1] [His home in Cambridge, to which he returned, was a mansion which stood where now the meeting-house of the first parish stands. — Ed.]

[2] [There are some glimpses of Trowbridge in the *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, by his son. — Ed.]

[3] Peter Oliver, Dudley, Fitch, and perhaps a few more might be mentioned; but unfortunately tradition preserves little more besides their names, and it is impossible to reproduce them, as they were, with any approach to accuracy or vividness.

causes ever tried in this country; but it has fallen to the writer[1] of another chapter to recall the events which induced a resort on the part of the Government to Writs of Assistance, resulting in a decision of the court sustain-



R. Dana[2]

ing them. Later on, Hutchinson, who was the presiding justice, when seeking from the home Government reparation for the sacking of his house and destruction of his furniture at the time of the Stamp-Act riot, enlarged

[1] [The Rev. E. G. Porter, Vol. III. ch. i.—Ed.]

[2] [This cut follows the portrait by Copley, named in the text, now owned by Richard H. Dana, of the third generation. The picture measures $4\frac{7}{12} \times 3\frac{7}{12}$ feet. Richard Dana was born in Cambridge, Aug. 7, 1699, and died in Boston, May 17, 1772. A duplicate is owned by his descendants in England. Perkins's *Copley*, p. 50. The *Massachusetts Gazette*, June 1, contains his obituary, copied into Frothingham's *Warren*, 195. See further in Vol. II. of this History, pp. 324, 373. — Ed.]

upon his services on this memorable occasion, and claimed that the decision made in the cause was due to his personal influence exerted upon reluctant associates. Under all the circumstances, what Hutchinson claimed as a glory must, even from a Tory standpoint, be regarded as a disgrace. In the long run the triumph lay with James Otis, who had argued against the writs, and who from this time became the principal leader of the malcontents or patriots. They needed just such a one as he, and his ardent and zealous temper would not let him refuse their urgent summons. His private business was neglected and went to ruin, while he attended more and more exclusively to public affairs. He was elected to the General Court, and there continued his exertions. Still, however, he occasionally practised, and after the soldiery had been sent over to overawe the colonists, when the Superior Court, on coming together in the council chamber, found a guard posted and cannon ranged before the building, and troops quartered within it, Otis arose, and "with a significant expression of loathing and scorn" moved the adjournment of the court to Faneuil Hall, observing that "the stench occasioned by the presence of the troops might prove infectious, and that it was utterly derogatory to the court to administer justice at the points of bayonets and mouths of cannon."

Unfortunately the career of this daring and brilliant advocate was destined to an untimely end. Early in 1768 Hutchinson wrote, "We have now and then flashes from our firebrand. I wish I could think them presages of his extinction;" and again, "Otis, like an enraged demon, ran about the house;" and soon after, Otis "behaved in the house like a madman." In sad truth the clouds of insanity were rapidly gathering athwart that glorious intellect, and tendencies of Nature were accelerated by human agency. Otis fell a victim, as Mr. C. F. Adams has said, to his own irregularities and the vindictiveness of his enemies. He was violently assaulted and beaten over the head with a cane one evening in a coffee-house,[1] by one of the Royal Commissioners. Subsequently, in an action which he brought against his assailant, he recovered the sum, then a large one, of £2,000 in damages; but he magnanimously remitted payment upon receiving from his adversary a written acknowledgment of fault and request for pardon. The effect, however, upon the brain of Otis, already predisposed to disorder, could not be cured by money or apology, and the madness which rapidly advanced was doubtless hastened, though probably not wholly caused, by this disaster. On May 23, 1778, he was leaning against the post of an open door of the house in Andover in which he lived, telling a story to several other inmates, when a sudden flash of lightning struck him instantly dead. Singular as the death was, it was remembered with astonishment by his friends that he had often expressed a wish that he might die in this manner; and it was not without a certain awe that it was recalled that he had written to his sister, "I hope when God Almighty, in his righteous Providence, shall take me

[1] [This was the British Coffee-house in King (now State) Street, a place much frequented by royal officers, on the spot where since the Massachusetts Bank stood. — Ed.]

out of time into eternity, that it will be by a flash of lightning." It was indeed a fitting end for a brilliant and meteoric genius.[1]

One other cause occurring in the ante-Revolutionary period deserves mention, and this is the trial of Captain Preston and his soldiers upon a charge of murder for the famous Boston Massacre. It is needless to recapitulate the details of that well-known occurrence, or to dilate upon the excited state of popular feeling.[2] When the accused sought the services of John Adams and of Josiah Quincy, Jr., as counsel, they preferred no ordinary request. Adams had been slowly making his way at the Bar for twelve years; Quincy was nine years his junior. Both were well known to be strong friends of the Colonial cause. They might well consider it unfair that they should be called upon to undertake a defence of persons whose very presence on the soil they reprobated, — a defence which, if conducted with due zeal and thoroughness, might destroy their popularity, reputation, and usefulness with their own townspeople, and ruin their business prospects. It was supposed to be a shrewd artifice on the part of the culprits, designed at once to help themselves and to injure their defenders; yet professional ethics seemed unquestionably to demand that the lawyers should accept the duty, and they both courageously and promptly engaged to do so. One would think, indeed, that both of them had given sufficient proof of ardent attachment to the popular cause to escape misapprehension in this matter; yet it is of record that many patriots, unable to appreciate their motives, were greatly offended with them. A striking letter to Mr. Quincy from his father, together with the just and spirited answer of the son, are preserved in the *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Junior.* The old gentleman wrote: —

"I have been told that you have actually engaged for Captain Preston; and I have heard the severest reflections made upon the occasion by men who had just before manifested the highest esteem for you, as one destined to be a savior of your country. I must own to you it has filled the bosom of your aged and infirm parent with anxiety and distress, lest it should not only prove true, but destructive of your reputation and interest; and, I repeat, I will not believe it unless it be confirmed by your own mouth, or under your own hand."

The letter was signed, — "Your anxious and distressed parent, Josiah Quincy."

In an admirably independent and sound reply to this painful appeal, the young lawyer wrote, condemning the lack of feeling of those who had traduced him unheard to his venerable father: —

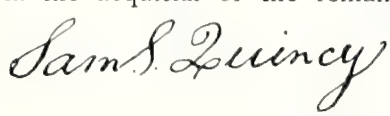
"Let such be told, sir, that those criminals, charged with murder, are *not yet legally proved guilty*, and therefore, however criminal, are entitled by the laws of God and man to all legal counsel and aid; that my duty as a man obliged me to undertake; that my duty as a lawyer strengthened the obligation; that, from abundant

[1] [See portrait of Otis, etc., in Vol. III. ch. i. — Ed.]

[2] See Vol. III. ch. i.

caution, I at first declined being engaged; that, after the best advice and most mature deliberation had determined my judgment, I waited on Captain Preston and told him that I would afford him my assistance; but prior to this, in presence of two of his friends, I made the most explicit declaration to him of my real opinion on the contests (as I expressed it to him) of the times, and that my heart and hand were indissolubly attached to the cause of my country; and finally, that I refused all engagement until advised and urged to undertake it by an Adams, a Hancock, a Molineux, a Cushing, a Henshaw, a Pemberton, a Warren, a Cooper, and a Phillips. This and much more might be told with great truth; and I dare affirm that you and the whole people will one day rejoice that I became an advocate for the aforesaid criminals, *charged* with the murder of our fellow-citizens."

The trial of Captain Preston began Oct. 24, 1770, and was brought to an end on the sixth day thereafter by his acquittal. The trial of the soldiers followed, resulting in the conviction of two of them of manslaughter, and in the acquittal of the remaining six. It is an odd circumstance that



the prosecution was conducted on behalf of the Crown by Samuel Quincy,[1] Solicitor-General, a brother of Josiah Quincy, Jr., who had separated in politics from the rest of his family, and espoused the so-called Loyalist side. The trials were not in themselves especially noteworthy, save for the moral traits which they developed; and in this respect they were certainly remarkable. Not only Adams and Quincy, but the jurors also, won high honor by their conduct; and even the people at large, having a little time given them for reflection, so thoroughly appreciated the honorable motives which had actuated the reluctant counsel, that they hastened to elect John Adams a representative to the General Court. There is no nobler record in the annals of the country. It seems scarcely credible that after thirty years had elapsed, and John Adams had become President of the United States, an ignoble newspaper writer actually descended, in aspersing him as being under "British influence," to cite this trial in proof of his proclivities. Whoever else won honor in this matter, the English captain certainly did not, for he instantly disappeared from the neighborhood without even so much as saying "thank you" to those who had perilled so much and acted so courageously by him. The two convicted soldiers were branded in the hand by the sheriff, while the tears poured down their cheeks from shame and indignation at what they deemed an unmerited disgrace.

Soon after the trial of this cause, ill-health compelled Mr. Quincy to abandon a profession in which he could not have failed to achieve a brilliant success, unless, indeed, as is probable, he had been drawn from it into public affairs. He went abroad, in hopes of overcoming certain pulmonary symptoms, but unfortunately failed to do so, and died at sea on his way home, at the early age of thirty-one. John Adams also, during the exciting years which led up to the Revolution, found himself constantly more

[1] [Some of his letters are appended to *Curwen's Journal*, edited by Ward. — Ed.]

engrossed by public affairs, which seemed imperiously to demand his energies, and to draw him away from the active practice of his profession. Yet he was still called upon from time to time thereafter to perform services for which his early legal training was supposed peculiarly to fit him. In 1820, when Maine was set off from Massachusetts as a separate State, he was a prominent member of the convention chosen to prepare the new constitution for the latter. He was then well advanced in years, and most of his coadjutors belonged to the next generation; among them were Joseph Story and Daniel Webster. His son, John Quincy Adams, was also bred to the Bar, and had an office in Boston at various intervals during his long life; but he likewise was absorbed by the rapid succession of public offices which he was called upon to fill, and perhaps for this reason never showed any great measure of legal aptitude. Yet in 1810, being then in Russia, he was tendered by Mr. Madison a seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court. He wisely declined, for though he would have made a respectable and industrious judge, he would hardly have achieved a higher distinction.

The Revolutionary period, and the unsettled years which closely followed it, are ornamented by few names of distinction in the law. Francis Dana, — son of Justice Richard Dana, already mentioned, — having been sent as minister to Russia during the war, was afterward made Chief-Justice of Massachusetts. He had the reputation of being an able lawyer and a forcible speaker, and filled a large space in his day and generation. But except in this meagre statement and the tradition which Sullivan preserves for us of his magnificent white corduroy surtout, lined with fur, and his Russian muff, his life and characteristics have passed into oblivion.[1] He was, however, the progenitor of an able race, who keep the name famous to our own time. His son, Richard H. Dana, was in his day a writer of some note in the literary circles of Boston; and, in the next generation, Hon. Richard H. Dana, Jr., has been in our own times one of the most distinguished jurists and eloquent advocates of Massachusetts.[2]

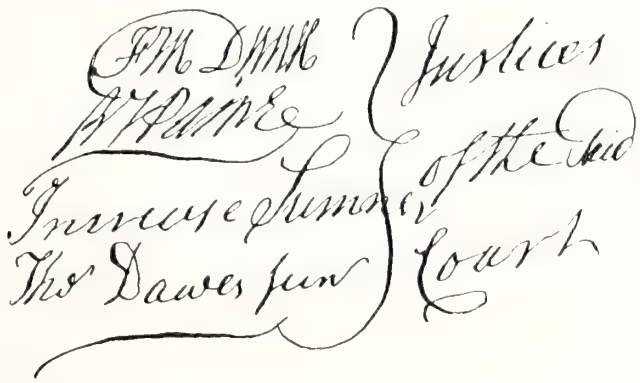
Not less famous than the name of Dana, in the legal annals of Massachusetts, is that of Lowell. The first John Lowell was a prominent adviser of the patriot merchants in the days of the war, and won reputation especially in prize causes. Upon the organization of the United States courts, he was very appropriately selected as the first incumbent upon the Bench of the same District Court upon which his

[1] [His portrait, by Brackett, is owned by Richard H. Dana, the second of the name, who prepared a brief memoir of him in 1876, which was printed in the *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, i. 86. He was born June 13, 1743, and bore distinguished service during the Revolution. He returned to Boston from his mission to St. Petersburg in December, 1783, to be made a delegate to Congress, which office he again left, in 1785, for a seat on the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts, of which he became the chief in November, 1791, a position he resigned in 1800. He died in Cambridge in 1811. One of his daughters married Washington Allston. — Ed.]

[2] [Descendants of Richard Dana, of Cambridge, said to include all of the name, are traced in *Memoranda of Some of the Descendants, etc.*, by the Rev. J. J. Dana, Boston, 1865. — Ed.]

great-grandson has since sat. He remained there until the Federalists passed their bill creating the short-lived Circuit Court, of which Lowell was made the judge; only, however, to be displaced when, in the following year, the vindictive Democrats, coming into power, abolished the tribunal. John Lowell enjoyed a great and deserved reputation equally in respect of his professional ability and of his high character.[1] He had a son, a lawyer of great promise and high public spirit, but whose health was too poor to enable him to achieve the success to which he was entitled. The present judge, now also on the Circuit bench, has succeeded to his ancestor's rare legal faculty, as well as to his public functions. Such striking examples of heredity as are presented in the Dana and Lowell families are certainly rare.

Upon the Bench with Francis Dana was Robert Treat Paine, a hot-tempered, black-eyed gentleman, a good lawyer, and fearless patriot, who had signed the Declaration of Independence.[2] He fell in easily with the prevailing habits of the Bench in those days,—habits which can hardly be admired, in point of good breeding or suavity, since the judges were wont to use their authority in a very harsh and offensive manner. But in 1800 an amelioration was fortunately effected in this regard by the appointment of Theodore Sedgwick as an associate justice. He was a courteous gentleman as well as a good lawyer; and his influence and example worked a reform in the manners of his associates which has continued down to the present day substantially unbroken, save during the reign of Chief-Justice Parsons.



The men who were coming forward at the Bar during the latter years of the eighteenth century have left behind them names deservedly famous.[3]

[1] [Judge Lowell bought, in 1785, an estate in Roxbury, which he made his residence after he had retired from active duties, and of which there is an account in Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, 394. — Ed.]

[2] [Robert Treat Paine lived on the west corner of Milk and Federal streets, in a large gambrel-roofed house, with gardens in the rear. He died here May 11, 1814. — Ed.]

[3] [Fisher Ames thus characterizes them in 1802 (*Works*, i. 300): "Parsons stands first; but he is grown older, less industrious, and wealth or the hypo may stop his practice. Otis is eager in the chase of fame and wealth, and, with a great deal of eloquence, is really a good lawyer, and improving. . . . Dexter is very able, and will be an Ajax at the bar as long as he stays. You know [addressed to Gore] that his aversion to reading and to practice are avowed. Sullivan, who seems immortal, is admonished of his decay by a fit every three months. . . . I know of no very dashing young men coming forward." — Ed.]

They were a brilliant and able coterie. There were Christopher Gore, Samuel Dexter, — the father of Franklin Dexter, who was only less able than his great progenitor, — Harrison Gray Otis, Benjamin Austin, James Sullivan, and Samuel Sewall. It is melancholy to find how little knowledge remains concerning any of these men beyond the naked fact of a great reputation. No name is more familiar in Boston than that of Harrison Gray Otis, and yet except for the tradition of his silvery voice, his graceful elocution, and persuasive oratory, how little is there to be learned about his life and doings! He was a nephew of the famous James Otis, and was scarcely less prominent in public affairs. In the stirring times of 1812, and thereabout, he was the favorite speaker in Faneuil Hall, which was always crowded when he was to be heard.[1]

Benjamin Austin was, during his life, esteemed as a lawyer much more highly than any persons, save antiquarians, are now aware. Indeed, it is probable that he would to-day be altogether forgotten, were it not for the unfortunate celebrity which he acquired in connection with one of the most noted trials which have ever occurred in Boston. In the middle of the day, on Aug. 4, 1806, his son was shot dead by Thomas O. Selfridge in State Street. The act created the greatest excitement. It was at a period when party feeling was running very high, and there had been a quarrel growing out of political hostility between Mr. Austin, Sr., and Mr. Selfridge. On the Fourth of July in that year the Republicans of Boston had gotten up a procession, and a grand banquet in a tent on Copp's Hill. The presence of the Tunisian Ambassador caused such a rush of the curious populace into the tent that the ticket-taker could not do his duty; the receipts fell short, and the landlord of the Jefferson Tavern,[2] who had been caterer for the feast, was paid by the committee only so much as they had collected. He employed Selfridge to enforce payment of the balance by suit against the committee as individuals. Austin, who was at the head of the committee, being one day rallied in an insurance office about the suit, replied that it had been instigated by the Federal lawyer who brought it. Afterward, upon proof that he was in error in his statement, he retracted it, though not in a sufficiently public manner to satisfy Mr. Selfridge, who forthwith published him in the *Gazette* as a coward, a liar, and a scoundrel. Austin also published a counter-statement. Charles Austin, the young man who was killed, was a student in Harvard College, eighteen years of age. Upon the trial of Selfridge the defence was, that young Austin had espoused his father's side in the controversy, and that he had meditated inflicting chastisement upon Selfridge; that accordingly, as he saw Selfridge crossing State Street, he himself advanced rapidly and threateningly from

[1] [Of the eloquence of Harrison Gray Otis, see the *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, p. 183. His law office at one time was in the building now (1881) standing on the lower corner of Court and Tremont streets, where later Daniel Webster had an office. — Ed.]

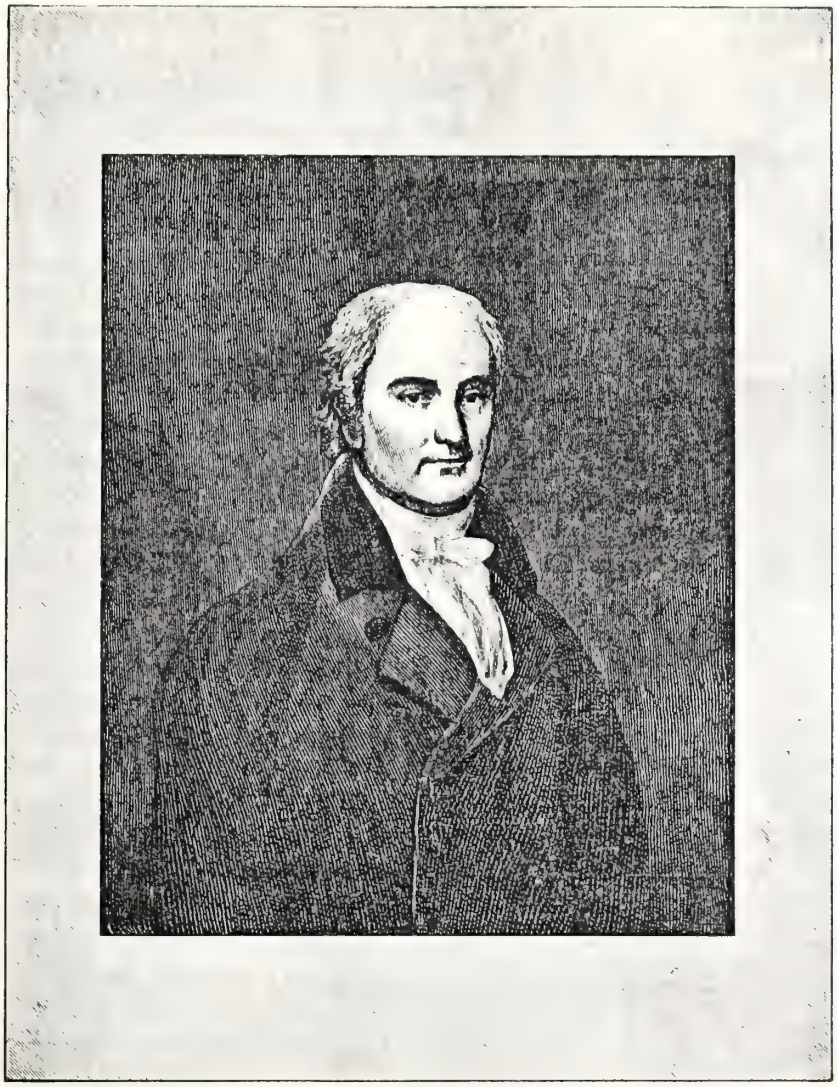
[2] [This noted resort stood on the present Salem Street, and was for some time the headquarters of the Republicans. There is a note on the origin of it in Amory's *James Sullivan*, ii. 163.]

the side-walk towards Selfridge, armed with a heavy cane, and began striking at Selfridge's head; that Selfridge, thus assailed, and being a man of feeble physique and quite unable to defend himself by force, drew his pistol and shot his assailant dead. The case was tried before Judge Parker; James Sullivan, Attorney-General, and Daniel Davis, Solicitor-General, appeared for the prosecution. Samuel Dexter, Christopher Gore, Harrison Gray Otis, and Charles Jackson were for the defence. The case was admirably tried, as can be learned from a full report of it, which fortunately still exists. There was less petty technical squabbling over unimportant points than is customary in our own time, but every particle of evidence was clearly brought out; the counsel made arguments which it would be difficult for any lawyer of our day to improve upon, and no jury ever had a man's life or liberty in their hands with better opportunity for meting out strict justice. The verdict was "not guilty." How far it may have been affected by the political predilections of the jurors it is hard to say. It was well understood at the time that the case took on a strong political complexion, and it is hardly to be supposed that a panel of sound Jeffersonians would have been brought to this conclusion even by the eloquence of Gore and Dexter. Certainly these gentlemen did their best for their fellow-laborer in the Federalist vineyard, and greatly distinguished themselves.[1]

Samuel Dexter has left a great name. He was a gentleman of varied and liberal acquirements, and very distinguished as a lawyer. Mr. Justice Story, before whom he practised, was wont to speak of him in terms of the highest praise, ranking him indeed as inferior to William Pinkney, — the leader, in Story's estimation, among all the counsel who practised at the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, — but second to none else. From the judge's description of the two men, it may be doubted whether the taste of the present day would not cause his preference to be reversed. Pinkney had a fiery, impetuous style of oratory, which seemed to lift his auditors from their feet, and bear them along whithersoever the flood of his eloquence was directed; but Dexter was more even, tranquil, and dispassionate, seeking to convince his hearers, not overwhelming their cool reason, but rather leaving it free for the better comprehension of his lucid argument. He was not, however, devoid of the faculty of passionate oratory, and upon the rare occasions when he was excited to it the effect is said to have been very great. Yet all this is only tradition; scarcely anything of his has been preserved, excepting a eulogy which he delivered upon Fisher Ames. His greatest effort was before the Supreme Court of the United States, made at the time when the merchants of Boston, ruined by the Embargo, undertook to establish the unconstitutionality of the law. Mr. Dexter appeared on

[1] Thomas Handasyd Perkins was foreman of the grand jury which found the indictment, and Paul Revere was foreman of the petit jury which rendered the verdict. Portraits of both are given elsewhere in this History. [The newspapers of the day, and a separate publication, contained the report of this trial, the indictment being for manslaughter, — not for murder. See also Parson's *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, 250; Amory's *James Sullivan*, ii. 167. — ED.]

their behalf; and though he lost his case, — which indeed was intrinsically hopeless, — yet he reaped great honor from his conduct of it. It is a mis-



C. GORE

fortune for history no less than for law in the United States, that not even an outline of his profound and able argument in a cause of such weighty

[4] [This cut follows a likeness painted by J. Trumbull, and given in 1838 to Harvard College by Wm. E. Payne, a nephew of Gore, and now hanging in Memorial Hall. The descent of Governor Gore is traced by Wm. H. Whitmore, in his *Genealogy of the Payne and Gore Families*, printed in the *Mass. His. Soc. Proc.*, 1875, and also as a publication of the Prince Society. — Ed.]

public import is extant. For a time Mr. Dexter was much in public life; beginning in the State Legislature he went thence to Congress, and was both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. In the administration of John Adams he was first Secretary of War, and then Secretary of the Treasury. But with the advent of Jefferson he retired from public life, and thereafter devoted himself exclusively to the law. He died untimely in his fifty-fifth year, May 4, 1816, from an acute difficulty in the throat. Dexter during most of his life was, as became a gentleman of his position in Boston in those days, a stanch Federalist; but in his later years his opinions upon the questions resulting in the war of 1812 induced him to abandon the party and join the Republicans, greatly to the regret of his friends.[1]

Dexter's compeer, friend, and rival was Christopher Gore, who was even more largely engaged in public life. For eight years he remained in England as Commissioner on behalf of the United States, busied with the settlement of claims for British spoliations under Jay's treaty; upon his return he was three years in the State Senate. In 1809 he was elected Governor, and in 1814 he was chosen United States Senator from Massachusetts. Amid such numerous and exacting public functions, it is surprising that he could find time to attend much to the practice of the law. Yet it is certain that so long as he lived he was considered to stand high in the first rank of his profession. He was the first United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts. In private practice his specialty was commercial law, of which he was a master; but his speech in the Selfridge case shows that he might have excelled also in the more showy and oratorical departments, had he been so minded. Except this, it may be said that absolutely nothing remains to show what he could do. He was a high-bred, courtly gentleman of the old school. His habits and appearance partook largely of that aristocratic element which then distinguished the prominent Federalists throughout the country, and nowhere to a greater degree than in Boston. He had a magnificent house at Waltham, in the neighborhood of Boston, with marble floors, a deer-park, and like expensive and luxurious appointments. He drove in a coach-and-four, with outriders in livery. Indeed it is said that the loss of his election to a second term of the governorship was largely due to these over-gorgeous habits. He had an ample fortune, a liberal portion of which he bequeathed to Harvard College. Gore Hall, used for the library, was built with this fund, and named for him.

For many years about this same period James Sullivan filled a large space before the eyes not only of the people of Boston,[2] but of the whole

[1] [We much need a life of Dexter. A little volume, consisting of some friendly recollections, communicated to the *Boston Evening Transcript* by Lucius Manlius Sargent, his law pupil, and afterward printed separately as *Reminiscences of Samuel Dexter*, 1857, is the chief record we have. To this should be added an essay by Judge Story in his *Miscellaneous Writings*, and a glance here and there in the biographies of his contemporaries. He lived in the Beacon Street side of the house on the corner of Beacon and Park streets. — Ed].

[2] [In the autumn of 1782 James Sullivan moved to Boston, and occupied a house on Bowdoin Square. In the first chapter of the second volume of his *Life*, by T. C. Amory, we have an

Commonwealth. Of Irish descent, he had the courage, activity, eloquence, and hospitality which distinguish the best of that race. He was born in Berwick, Maine, April 22, 1744, the fourth son in a numerous family, many of whom acquired distinction in public life. An accident which befell him in early years, in cutting down a tree, rendered him lame and prevented his entering the army, as he had intended. He was able, however, as a civilian — once also in a military way — to render essential service during the Revolutionary war. At the time of the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, Sullivan was on the Bench of the Supreme Court with Cushing, Sargent, and Sewall. But in 1782, out of regard to the general poverty, the Legislature established his salary at only £300, and reduced him to the necessity of resigning. For several years, he said, he had received from the Government barely enough to pay his travelling expenses upon circuit. He had, however, as he frankly acknowledged, a strong fancy for a public career, and the intervals when he was not filling some office of public trust and service were few and brief. It is seldom that we encounter the record of a busier life; he was not only a lawyer in large practice, but a writer and a man of affairs both in business and in politics. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, and again a delegate from Massachusetts in 1783; a judge, at different times, of the Admiralty, Probate, Superior, and Supreme Courts; a representative in the State Legislature; a member of the Executive Council; a member of sundry public commissions; for seventeen years attorney-general, for two years governor, and finally a member of all sorts of societies, quasi-public and private, notably of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was one of the founders, and for many years the president, until displaced by political opponents.[1] He was the promoter of the famous Middlesex Canal, and by his energy carried that great labor to a successful consummation. He was engaged in many other business undertakings. He wrote law books, — especially his learned work on land titles, — and some able political tracts. He was also a constant and liberal contributor to the newspapers, in all the numerous and exacting political and personal controversies of the times, following the fashion of the public men of that day in using this channel to reach the people and influence popular opinion. Add to all this the exactions of a large private professional practice, and the time devoted to social intercourse with an unusually numerous circle of friends, — for he was a very popular man, — and it is evident that Governor Sullivan could have had few idle moments. When, in 1790, he was made attorney-general, he insisted that a salary should be annexed to the office in place of the previous system of payment by fees. The change was to his own pecuniary disadvantage; but he was resolved that his emoluments should not be dependent upon the number of prosecutions which he could institute or carry through. This was of a piece with the upright and just temper which marked him throughout life. The Self-

estimate of him as a lawyer, and of the condition of practice in his day. — Ed.]

[1] [See Amory's *Life of James Sullivan*, ii. 133; Austin's *Life of Gerry*. — Ed.]

ridge case was the most famous which it fell to him to conduct during his long term of office; but only second to it was the still-remembered trial of Jason Fairbanks for the murder of Miss Fales. She was the village belle at Dedham, and perhaps a trifle prone to flirtation. Fairbanks was a sickly and unattractive youth, one of her admirers, to whom she seemed rather unaccountably kind. One day he met her in a meadow, and, having in vain attempted to dishonor her, he stabbed or rather hacked her to death with a knife, with circumstances of extreme barbarity. Intense excitement prevailed. The trial took place in the Dedham church, Chief-Justice Dana presiding in the pulpit, associates Paine, Strong, and Davis sitting in the desk below him, and the jury occupying the neighboring pews. John Lowell and Harrison Gray Otis appeared for Fairbanks, and surprised every one by the force and ingenuity of their defence. It is said that Lowell was then, and ever after remained, convinced of his client's innocence. Sullivan however, in closing, made a superb address, and won a well-merited verdict of "guilty."[1] Strange to say, the wretched prisoner found sympathizers sufficiently enterprising to rescue him from his confinement and run him off towards Canada. By good fortune, however, he was recaptured when almost upon the very border, was brought back, and — since fortunately the days of sentimentality for brutal criminals had not yet arrived — he met his just deserts upon the gallows.

In the Selfridge trial Sullivan labored under severe disadvantages. He had been hard pushed with other causes during the term; he was in ill-health, and within a few days he had lost, by sudden death in his own house, one of his sons. Gore wrote out his argument carefully for the report of the case; but Sullivan trusted to the ordinary reporter's notes. Yet even under all these disadvantages the speech appears to have been a fine one, though it was not generally considered that he was at his best in it. He was always a very fluent and ready speaker, quick in expedient and never disconcerted, with a surprising ability for carrying on other business, even to the writing of his law books and political tracts during the conduct of a cause, without ever losing the thread of his opponent's case. In spite of his lameness he is said to have had an excellent personal presence.[2]

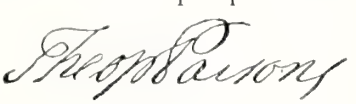
Sullivan was one of the few gentlemen of position and prominence in Massachusetts who belonged to the Republican party. Such, however, was the respect felt for his character that he was well liked even by Federalists. Most of his personal friends were almost inevitably, as Boston society was then constituted, of the Federal persuasion, and it is much to his and to their credit that, at a time when personal animosity was freely imported into political life, such friendships were warmly maintained. But it must be said that he was a very high-spirited and independent man in political as well as in all other matters, and more than once gave offence to his party.

[1] [This address is given in part in Amory's *Sullivan*. — Ed.]

[2] [This is apparent from his portrait given in Amory's *Life* of him, and in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, i. The original is by Gilbert Stuart. — Ed.]

They could not, however, get along without him in Massachusetts, and forgave perforce his occasional derelictions. He was several times their candidate for Governor, narrowly missing success, until in 1807 he was elected, and again in 1808 was re-elected, dying in that year before his term of office had expired. Democrat though he was, he had lived handsomely, and was opposed in the gubernatorial campaign, as Gore was soon afterward, on the ground that he was too much of an aristocrat. The personal charges brought against him in the canvass were very discreditable to his opponents, but are now in a certain sense agreeable reading, as showing that falsehood and calumny were at least as freely used in political warfare in those days as in our own. Few men, near the close of so long and active a life, could have been found so invulnerable to just reproach as was Governor Sullivan.

Theophilus Parsons was a student in the office of Judge Trowbridge. When admitted to practice at the bar he opened his office in Newburyport, and there did a thriving business for the merchants and ship-captains who then gave an air of liveliness and enterprise to the streets of that now tranquil and sleepy old town. He became a master of prize and admiralty law, then a lucrative branch of practice, and divided the business in these departments with John Lowell and Governor Sullivan. Clients who are making money fast are usually welcome to the lawyer's office, and such were the kind who came to Parsons. One of them, a master of a privateer, one day threw into the lap of Mrs. Parsons — as she sat, after the simple, pleasant fashion of the day, in her husband's office — a dozen heavy silver-gilt spoons, with the remark that "the squire had not charged him half enough." Another, one day, said that in praying the Lord to make him rich he believed he must have prayed too hard, for it seemed that now the Almighty "meant to drown him out." Parsons came to Boston in 1806 with a high reputation. It was remarked that he never used a brief, trusting with perfect confidence to a memory of extraordinary tenacity. He addressed jurors and judges alike with brevity, simplicity, and force, and achieved brilliant successes. Chief-Justice Parker has left a description of him in argument: "He put one foot on his chair, and, with an elbow on his knee, leaned over and began to talk about the case as a man might talk to a neighbor at his fireside." A juror once said of him: "He is not much of a lawyer, and he don't talk or look as if he would ever be one; but he seems a real good sort of a man." He had an eccentric habit of declining ever to take a fee from a widow or a clergyman.



Parsons was appointed by Governor Strong to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chief-Justice Dana. The promotion was made over the head, as it were, of the senior Associate Justice, Theodore Sedgwick, at the private intercession of Judges Isaac Parker and Samuel E. Sewall. The truth was, that Sedgwick was a courteous and amiable gentleman, who could not be expected to make any reform in the extreme and mischievous laxity which then disfigured the administration of justice; but Parsons was a man of

different temper. No sooner had he taken his seat upon the bench than the whole air of the court-room seemed charged with a terrible energy. No excuse was listened to, no delay was admitted. Counsel might try in their turn, or they must submit to the inexorable non-suit or default. The dropsical dockets rapidly shrunk when gashed by the unsparing lancet of the new Chief. The lawyers at first grumbled much; but suitors were better pleased, and the great improvement effected soon reconciled all persons to the new system. Yet it cannot be denied that Parsons often carried his autocratic spirit too far. It was not only that his manners were rough; but he was too apt to take the case into his own hands, to lead or drive the jury according to his own notions, and not unfrequently even to refuse to hear the arguments of counsel. In spite of his perfect honesty and his shrewd intelligence, this was over-doing the judicial authority. Samuel Dexter, once smarting beneath one of these arbitrary interruptions, said with some temper, "Your honor did not argue your own cases in the way you require of us." "Certainly not," replied Parsons; "but that was the judge's fault, not mine." He had a quick and trenchant tongue, and was almost as proud of his reputation for wit as of his standing as a lawyer; so that it was dangerous for counsel to tilt with him, especially when he had the authority of office at his back. Yet sometimes he got as good as he gave. For example, once, when he was in Hampshire on circuit, Elijah H. Mills, afterward a distinguished lawyer and politician of Northampton, then very young at the bar, was compelled to take charge of the cases of an old lawyer who had been taken suddenly ill. Mills called upon the chief-justice with a letter of introduction, stated the embarrassing position in which he found himself, and asked for advice as to whom he should employ as senior counsel in the emergency. "I think on the whole," said Parsons, "that you had better employ nobody; you and I can do the business about as well as any one." It was hardly to be wondered at that these allies made a brilliant campaign through the session. At its close, one of the old country lawyers visited the chief-justice, and, as he rose to take leave, Parsons said to him, "Well, Mr.——, I shall expect to see you at the next term." "I'm not so sure of that, judge," retorted the other; "I think some of sending my office-boy with my papers; you and he together will do the business full as well as I can."

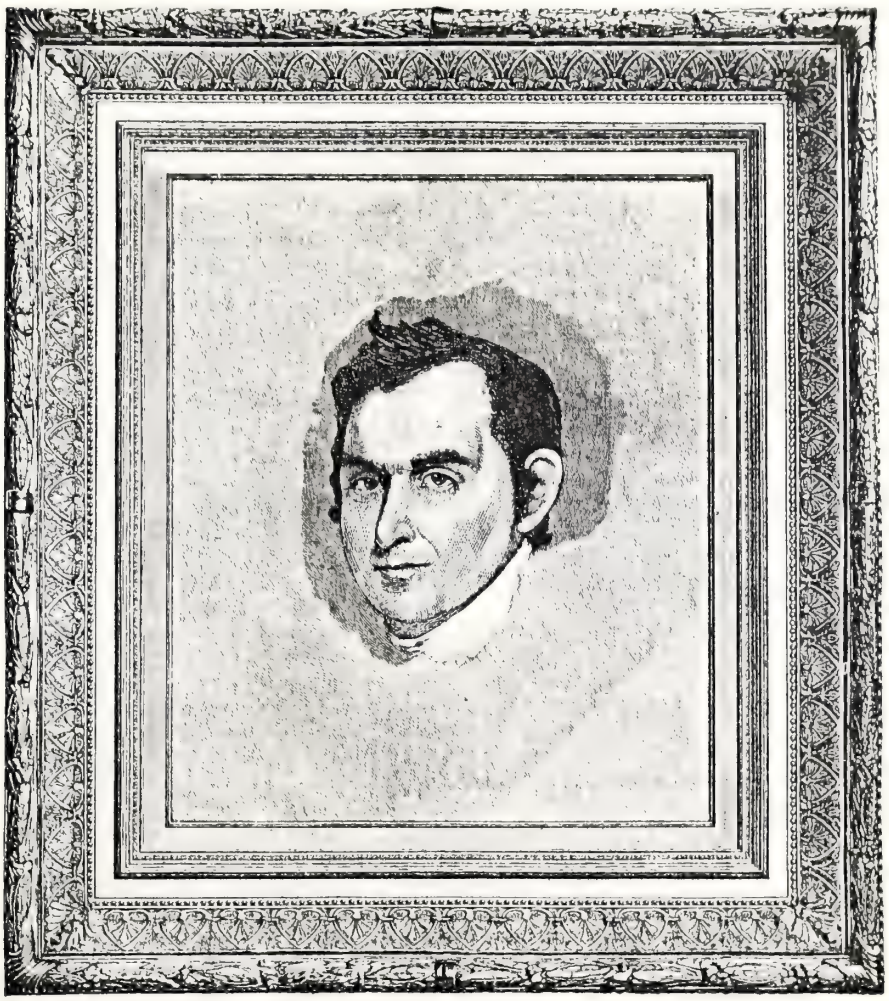
Parsons was a sound Federalist; but unlike his rivals of that political creed, he was far from being an aristocrat in manners or appearance. He was slouching in figure, and careless to the point of being actually slatternly and unclean in his dress and person. Once when he was going on circuit, his wife put six clean shirts in his valise, with strict injunctions that he should be sure to put on a fresh shirt every day. On his return at the end of the week, no shirt was to be found in his valise; he vowed solemnly that he could not account for it, that he had put on a fresh shirt every morning. It turned out that he had indeed done so; but he had never taken off a shirt during the time: he had put one on over another to the end of the supply!

He died in 1813, at the age of sixty-three, of some trouble in the head. As his mind wandered towards the end, his last words were: "Gentlemen of the jury, the case is closed, and in your hands; you will please retire, and agree upon your verdict." [1]

In casting about to determine which law office in Boston he should enter, Daniel Webster found none so well suited to his taste as that of Governor Gore. It was with no small diffidence that the lad from the country, unknown and unfriended, ventured to approach the famous and aristocratic lawyer whose office then was in "Scollay's Building," where now stands the statue of Winthrop. But Mr. Gore received him with great kindliness, and readily gave him all the opportunities which he wished. A warm friendship grew up and endured between them during the remaining years of the ex-governor's life, and Webster always held his memory, both as a man and as a lawyer, in great veneration. It was while in Mr. Gore's office that Mr. Webster had the offer of the clerkship of a court of common pleas in New Hampshire, with a salary of one thousand five hundred dollars per annum. It seems astonishing now to think that his first impulse was to accept this position, and it is curious to speculate upon what would have been his career had he done so. Fortunately, however, Mr. Gore threw his influence so vigorously and authoritatively into the opposite scale that Webster changed his mind, refused the office, — to the extreme disappointment of his aged father, — and was saved to his country and his profession. Soon afterward, in 1805, in the Court of Common Pleas in Boston, Mr. Gore moved the admission of Mr. Webster to the Bar, and according to the custom of the day he made a short speech concerning his pupil. "It is a well-known tradition," says Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, "that on this occasion Mr. Gore predicted the future eminence of his young friend. What he said has not been preserved; but that he said what Mr. Webster never forgot, that it was distinctly a prediction, and that it excited in him a resolve that it should not go unfulfilled, we have upon his own authority, although he appears to have been unwilling to repeat the words of Mr. Gore's address." After this ceremony Mr. Webster returned to New Hampshire; but a principle of gravitation too strong to be resisted drew him back towards Boston, of which place he became permanently a citizen in August, 1816. There he not only found congenial friends and devoted admirers, but was often able to make more money in a single case than he had been able to gather in twelve

[1] [We fortunately have a filial record of Judge Parsons's life in a *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, by his son of the same name, written over fifty years after the judge's death, and when but a small portion of his manuscripts remained in the family hands. An unfinished portrait by Stuart, painted after Judge Parsons's death, but regarded "as an admirable likeness," is prefixed to the volume. It is said in Mason's *Stuart*, p. 236, that the artist Alexander painted in the eyes in the unfinished picture, before it was engraved. After coming to Boston, he lived for a year on the southerly side of Bromfield Street, but in 1801 he bought a house with a large garden on the eastern side of Pearl Street, and there died. Judge Parsons's library was for his day a very large one, — between five and six thousand volumes. After his death in 1813, it was sold for more than its original cost with interest. "Such a sale was then without precedent, and has not occurred since, that I know of," says his son. *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, p. 263. — Ed.]

months in New Hampshire, where his practice, we are told, had never been worth more than two thousand dollars a year, and was scarcely susceptible



DANIEL WEBSTER.[1]

of possible increase beyond that paltry sum. Mr. Webster's fame as a statesman far overshadows his reputation as a lawyer; yet in the argument of a

[1] [This cut follows an unfinished picture by Stuart, who only completed the head. It was painted at the time when Webster first moved to Boston from Portsmouth. It is owned by Mr. Henry Parkman, of Boston. On the terrace in front of the State House stands a statue of him by Powers, which met with such adverse criticism that Mr. Everett, who delivered in 1859 an oration at its dedication, felt called upon to defend it. — *Works*, iv. 146, 186. An excellent engraving of Powers's bust, which was made from life before Webster was fifty, adorns the second volume of *Webster's Works* as edited by Mr. Everett. A report of the reasons urged by Mr. George T. Curtis and Mr. J. T. Stevenson, against accepting the statue as an adequate representation of Mr. Webster, will be found in full in the *Boston Courier*, July 8, 1859. The model which was

constitutional question he has never had a superior. He can hardly, however, be regarded as peculiarly associated with Boston in his professional career; for though he often practised in the State courts, and had many steady clients in this city, his chief business was in the Supreme Court at Washington, and it was before that tribunal that all his greatest efforts were made. Among his professional achievements, by far the most popularly known are his great speeches in the Knapp cases at Salem. It may be doubted whether a more effective harangue was ever uttered in a court-room, than that famous and familiar speech which contains the now proverbial words: "There was no escape from confession but suicide; and suicide is confession." In the earlier trial Franklin Dexter, who had the arduous task of defending the accused not only against a terrible weight of adverse testimony, but also against the superb eloquence of Webster, complained to

preferred by many was that made by Thomas Ball, upon which, with some changes, that artist moulded the statue which in 1876 was erected in Central Park, New York, when the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop and others delivered addresses. The proceedings of the occasion were issued in a sumptuous quarto, with a large engraving of the statue, and another is given in Harvey's *Reminiscences of Webster*.

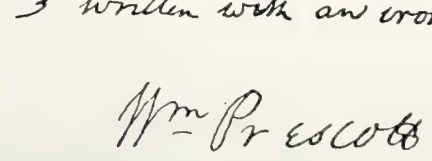
The engraved portraits of Mr. Webster are numerous; but the following will show the gradual change in his appearance, of which Mr. Everett speaks in his defence of Powers's statue: a miniature, painted at twenty-two, and engraved on the title of Harvey's *Reminiscences;* by Miss Goodrich, a miniature, painted in 1820, in the *Private Correspondence*, i.; by Healy, in 1843, in Curtis's *Life of Webster*, i.; by Chester Harding, engraved by Schoff, in *Works*, i., and in the *Boston Memorial;* and another, in 1849, in Curtis's *Life*, ii., engraved by Jackman after Whipple's daguerreotype; by J. Ames in 1852, with slouched hat and fishing costume, a full length in Harvey's *Reminiscences;* and a similar head by Ames, in *Private Correspondence*, ii.

Mr. Webster's fame is so closely connected with the Federalist town and the Whig city, that it may be well to indicate the chief contributions to an understanding of his character and career. The two most authentic accounts of him are the Memoir which Mr. Everett prefixed to *Webster's Works*, in their author's lifetime, and the extended *Life* prepared by his executor, George Ticknor Curtis, published in 1869; many of the papers on which it was based are now in the collection of Charles P. Greenough, Esq. Mr. Curtis subsequently, in 1878, issued in explanation of Webster's later political views a little monograph on *The Last Years of Webster*. Webster's son, Fletcher, published the *Private Correspondence* in two volumes in 1857, with which was an autobiographical fragment ending with 1817, and some recollections of his schooldays by his mates. Charles Hale gave a paper on his literary work in college in *Old and New*, July, 1873. It is noteworthy that Webster's first Latin lesson at Exeter was recited to Joseph Stevens Buckminster, the subsequent Boston pulpit orator. Books dealing more or less with his personal character are Charles Lanman's *Private Life of Daniel Webster*, 1856, and Peter Harvey's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Webster*, 1877. March's *Reminiscences of Congress* deal largely with Webster up to 1835; and the lives of his political contemporaries all throw sidelights. Joel Parker delivered an address treating him as a jurist. Edwin P. Whipple has measured him in his *Essays*, i. 172, and lately in an Essay presenting Webster as a master of English style in *Webster's Great Speeches*, 1879. At his death in 1852, the Eulogies in Congress were printed in a volume; George S. Hillard delivered an oration before the Government of Boston, which, with other memorials, made up a commemorative volume issued by the city. Other addresses of a like character were delivered by Mr. Everett (in his *Works*); and another, by Rufus Choate, was spoken at Dartmouth, the alma mater of both, and the manuscript of this is now in the Public Library, as well as other interesting memorials, — namely, the short-hand report made by Joseph Gales of Webster's reply to Hayne, Jan. 26, 1830, and the copy which the author prepared from it for the press, and the silver vase given to him in 1835 by various Boston gentlemen. It should be remembered that the city also owns Healy's large picture of Webster replying to Hayne, which hangs in Faneuil Hall. Party feeling, or that judgment which came from such as kept aloof from his admirers, sometimes took issue with the estimates commonly made of him; and some of these antagonistic views can be found in Theodore Parker's *Historic Americans*, James Parton's *Famous Americans*, and in Wendell Phillips's *Speeches*. — ED.]

the panel that this gentleman had been brought into the case "to hurry the jury against the law, and beyond the evidence." In the succeeding trial opposition was made, under a statute, to Mr. Webster's taking part at all. The objection was, however, overruled; unfortunately perhaps for the prisoner, but very fortunately for all lovers of noble specimens of professional oratory. Only less interesting was the Kenniston case. But far in advance of these Nisi Prius causes looms the great Dartmouth College case, which may perhaps be justly esteemed the most important cause ever tried in this country. Mr. Webster appeared for the college, and had the pleasure and glory of triumph. Whether his eloquence warped the court from a sound decision is a problem which the profession have not yet succeeded in solving beyond dispute; and the two factions still divide the Bar of the country, remaining, like two political parties, forever incapable of agreement.

Older than Daniel Webster, but in the memory of New England lawyers inseparably associated with him, was Jeremiah Mason. He also was born in New Hampshire, but as early as 1768, so that he was fourteen years Mr. Webster's senior. He did not, however, remove to Boston until 1832,[1] so that when Mr. Webster came to the New Hampshire Bar, he found Mr. Mason reigning there almost supreme. It was not long ere the two were regarded as not unequal opponents, and were constantly pitted against each other; but they were, and ever continued to be, the best of friends. Mr. Mason was a man of strongly marked individuality, with great independence and courage, a clear, strong, and keen mind, a trenchant wit, and a brusque, not to say a rough, manner. Long before he came to Boston he had served with distinction in the Senate of the United States from New Hampshire, and his practice had carried him not only all over New England, but often also to Washington. He was the intimate friend of Rufus King and Christopher Gore, and a valuable correspondence between him and them has fortunately been preserved. He shared with Mr. Webster the honor of winning the Dartmouth College case. He had some claim to be what is called a "character;" and his shrewd, witty, often sarcastic, and sometimes rough retorts were, to judge from tradition, the frequent provocation to merriment in his lifetime. It is sad, however, to find how singularly few

[1] [William Prescott had retired from the bar four years before this, when, as Mr. Webster later said, he "stood at the head of the Bar of Massachusetts for legal learning and attainments." Judge Prescott did not die till November, 1843. It is significant of his linking a new era with the old that, in the autograph which is here copied (1831), he marks as a departure from the old ways that he had laid aside the quill, temporarily at least. An account of him will be found in the appendix to Mr. Ticknor's *Life of William H. Prescott*, his son. A portrait of him, by Stuart, is owned by his daughter, the widow of Franklin Dexter, a son of Samuel Dexter; and another by the estate of the late James Lawrence, who married a daughter of the historian. Judge Story, in his autobiography, pays Judge Prescott a high tribute. *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, i. 97. — ED.]



of the "good stories" to which his sharp-edged tongue gave rise have been preserved. Perhaps the best and most familiar is this: A judge before whom he was conducting a case put a question to an important witness. In an instant Mr. Mason was on his feet, and checked the witness's reply. "May it please your Honor," he said, "I should like to inquire on whose side you asked that question? If it is on our side, we do not want it put; and if it is on the other side, the answer would not be legal evidence." As may be supposed, his forte lay in cross-examination, which, as he managed it, was a species of vivisection beneath which many a dishonest witness, and perchance occasionally also an honest one, writhed in pitiable suffering. One of his clients one day said to him, just before going in to trial, "We shall win the case; I am sure of it, for in a dream last night I had information from the Angel Gabriel." "Aha!" cried Mr. Mason, "we must subpœna him at once." Mr. Webster says that when he came to the Bar he observed that Mr. Mason was a "cause-getting" man. "He had a habit of standing quite near to the jury, so that he might have laid his finger on the foreman's nose; and then he talked to them in a plain conversational way, in short sentences, and using no word that was not level to the comprehension of the least educated man on the panel. This led me to examine my own style; and I set about reforming it altogether." There certainly was not much artificiality or polish about Mr. Mason's rhetoric; but it was full of a rugged vigor, which prevailed mightily with a jury, and of a logical clearness not less formidable before the judges *in banc*.[1]

An intimate friend of Mr. Mason was Mr. Justice Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States. This gentleman was born at Marblehead, Sept. 18, 1779. He became one of the greatest jurists whom this country has ever produced. Appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States by Mr. Madison, in 1810, he imbibed the spirit of Chief-Justice Marshall, for whom he had a warm affection, as well as a high esteem. His long services and eminent ability pointed him out as the natural successor to the distinguished position which Marshall left vacant in 1835; and he would undoubtedly have enjoyed the well-merited honor had it not been for the narrow prejudices and rancorous hostility of President Jackson, who openly avowed his antipathy to the "school of Kent and Story," and passed by this latter gentleman to appoint Roger B. Taney, — a sufficiently good lawyer, but who really owed his office to an act of political servility. This unjust treatment, however, cannot dim the lustre of Story's fame. He played a great part in framing both the constitutional and the commercial law of this country, at a period when both these depart-

[1] [The only authoritative life of Mr. Mason is one written by George S. Hillard, in 1873, from material furnished by the late Robert M. Mason, Esq., his son, and privately printed. It is only the last chapter of this book which covers his Boston career, and Mr. Hillard was fortunate in knowing him from his coming. Mr. Mason died in October, 1848, aged a little over eighty. In Mr. Hillard's opinion, Mr. Mason "was perhaps the greatest lawyer that ever practised at the Bar in New England." — ED.]

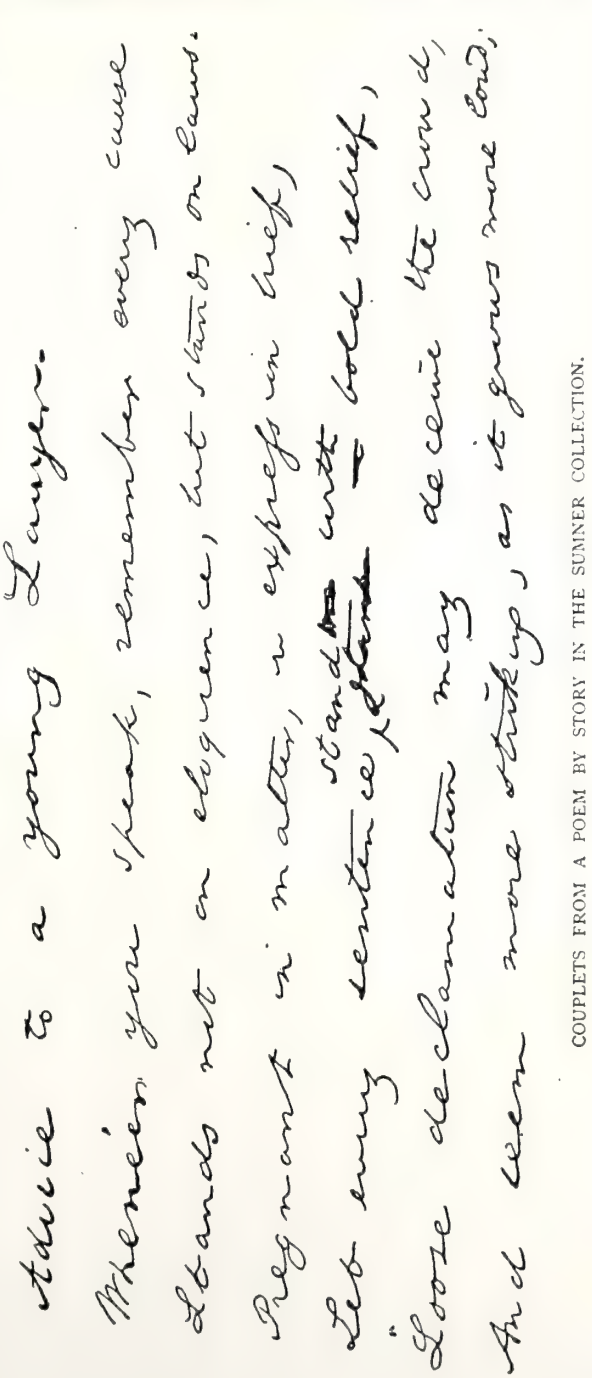
ments were in a plastic state; and the War of 1812 devolved upon him the duty of almost creating the American doctrines of admiralty and prize law. His capacity for labor was immense; he acquired easily, and poured forth his knowledge with wonderful fluency. As Judge of the Supreme Court,

JOSEPH STORY.[1]

Professor in the Dane Law School at Harvard College, and the writer of a small library of treatises upon legal topics, — all which functions he combined through many years of his busy career, — he seemed almost to live

[1] [This cut follows a likeness by Gilbert Stuart, painted in 1819, and bequeathed by the judge to Harvard College, where it now hangs in Memorial Hall. See Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, p. 260. A statue of Story, sitting, by his son W. W. Story, is in the chapel at Mount Auburn; and a bust of him (1846) by the same is in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. This same son published the authoritative *Life and Letters of Joseph Story* in 1851. The likeness in this book follows a crayon by his son, drawn after Story's death; and in Vol. II. p. 555, there is a list of the likenesses of him. An autobiography is contained in his *Miscellaneous Works*, 1852. Charles Sumner paid a tribute to him, which is printed in his *Speeches;* and in Pierce's *Life of Sumner* there is much light thrown on their friendly intercourse. George S. Hillard printed a memoir in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1868. Mr. Webster's estimate, pronounced before the Bar on the day of Story's funeral, will be found in his *Works*, ii. 297. — ED.]

a triple existence. Yet whatever he took in hand he carried through with surpassing thoroughness. Elaboration was his chief characteristic. He achieved exuberance generally without redundancy, and displayed an enormous range of learning without often exposing himself to the charge of pedantry. Although appointed by Madison, Judge Story took the Federalist view concerning the proper method of interpreting the Constitution; and fortunately his powerful influence was thrown always in happy unison with that of Marshall, in favor of broad and liberal construction. This was the natural habit of his mind, and rapidly wore out some youthful predilections which he had entertained for the fanciful and alluring, but unsound and impracticable, tenets of the Jeffersonian school of legists. Wit and humor were hardly traits of Judge Story. He could enjoy a joke well enough, but seldom endeavored to make one. He was as genial and kindly as he was learned, with a wise, benevolent face, but of a serious nature. Fortunately he had the good sense, or happy instinct, to understand his own gifts, and never to undertake anything which he could not do well. The nearest approach to a good story which is told of him is this: He loved to lie late in his bed, but



COUPLETS FROM A POEM BY STORY IN THE SUMNER COLLECTION.

boasted of being always wide awake so long as he was out of it. President Quincy, of Harvard College, and John Quincy Adams, on the contrary, were gravely "addicted to the vice of intemperate early rising." One day these two gentlemen made a sort of complimentary visit, to attend one of Judge Story's lectures at the law school. But ere long they both fell sound asleep, to the no small amusement of the students. Story, not at all discomfited, stopped short, pointed to the slumberers and said: "Gentlemen, you see before you a melancholy example of the evil effects of early rising." The burst of laughter which followed quickly broke the dreams of the worthy old sleepers.

Contemporary, friend, and professional rival of Webster was Rufus Choate, whose name still awakens in those who knew him memories more stirring and vivid than can be aroused by the mention of any lawyer of any age or any country. He was the magician of the Bar; about whom everything that any one remembers or has heard seems weird, strange, and wonderful. No definition of the word genius could be drawn so narrow as to exclude his brilliant, singular, fascinating, powerful mind. Not without distinction in public life, a scholar steeped in the literature of ancient and modern days, an able lawyer in arguments to the judges *in banc*, yet his pre-eminent distinction was as an advocate. His power over a jury was as masterful as his method of obtaining and exercising it was peculiar. His classical allusions, his extravagant and often grotesque imagery, his wild, impossible fancies, his excitable manner, his fervid, impetuous rush of speech, would have seemed to one judging *a priori* to be far removed from the uncultivated mind and dull intelligence of the average panel. Beautiful and noble as were his more labored productions, much of what he said in court, when put into print and read quietly at the fireside, seems not only lacking in persuasive or convincing qualities, but almost meaningless, and sometimes even absolutely ridiculous. But criticism is paralyzed before the compelling facts which repeated themselves week after week through his many long years of active professional life. His sway was not less complete over his educated fellow-citizens than over rustic jurors, who presumably did not fairly comprehend one sentence in ten. The test of success, the glory of victory, were his. His tactics in trying a case were often said to be Napoleonic; he left no precaution uncared for to secure success, and then fought with an intensity, an energy, an *élan* which seemed to render such precautions superfluous. He was never discouraged; he never ceased to struggle. Not till the sheriff had the execution in hand, did Mr. Choate ever regard a case as hopelessly lost. Not unnaturally, he was a more distinguished counsel in weak than in strong cases. A desperate chance roused all his faculties; but a plethora of strength in his case seemed to confuse him. So long as he practised in Essex County, not a client of his was ever convicted in criminal proceedings. People began to say that he was the scourge of society; that behind his ægis crime could flourish uncontrolled. In the famous Tirrell cases, which he

tried in Boston, and in which, it will be remembered, the famous defence of somnambulism was set up, he even exasperated many respectable and intelligent citizens by his success in securing the acquittal of a debased

Rufus Choate[1]

fellow, of whose guilt, in the specific offences charged upon him, the whole community was satisfied.

A famous instance of Mr. Choate's reckless extravagance of suggestion, — effective at the time, but seeming almost absurd afterward, — was fur-

[1] [This cut follows an engraving after Southworth & Hawes's photograph, which is given in Brown's *Life of Choate*, where it is called the best likeness of him *in repose;* but credit is given to Ames's likeness, now at Dartmouth College, for its representation of him in action; and to Brackett's bust for "spirit," and to Ball's bust for "dignity, force, and truthfulness." Parker's *Reminiscences* has a striking full-face portrait of Choate, following also a photograph by Southworth & Hawes.

Mr. Choate's literary productions were published, with a memoir by Professor S. G. Brown, in 1862, three years after his death, and the *Memoir*, with additions, was separately issued in 1869. This is the authoritative account, having the sanction of the family, and being based on his private papers. The full picture of his wonderful

nished in the earlier of these cases. After the defence had all been put in, the Government were permitted to call a witness whom they had then just laid hands upon. Commenting upon this, Mr. Choate said: —

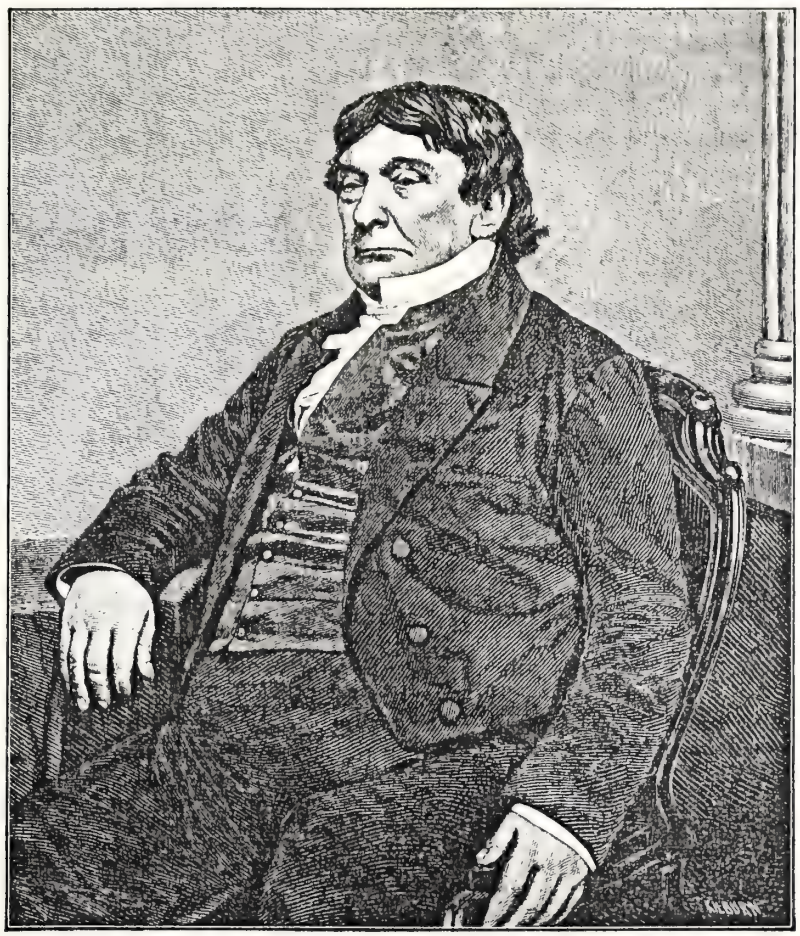
"Where was this tardy and belated witness, that he comes here to tell us all he knows and all he doesn't know, forty-eight hours after the evidence for the defence is closed? Is the case so obscure, that he has never heard of it? Was he ill, or in custody? Was he in Europe, Asia, or Africa? Was he on the Red Sea, or the Yellow Sea, or the Black Sea, or the Mediterranean Sea? Was he at Land's End, or John O'Groat's house? Was he with commissioners on our north-eastern boundary, drawing and defining that much vexed boundary line? or was he with General Taylor and his army at Chihuahua, or wherever the fleeting south-western boundary-line of our country may at this moment be? No, gentlemen! he was at none of these places, comparatively easy of access; but — and I will call your attention, Mr. Foreman, to the fact, and urge it upon your consideration — he was at that more remote, more inaccessible region, whence so few travellers return, — Roxbury!"

Mr. Choate's reputation for success in assisting criminals to escape from the just punishment of their crimes once put him in an embarrassing position. He was cross-examining a government witness, a seaman who was testifying against his comrades, charged with stealing money. He had said that Mr. Choate's client instigated the theft. "What did he say?" asked Mr. Choate; "tell me how and what he spoke to you." "Oh," replied the sailor, "he told us there was a man in Boston named Choate, who would get us off even if we were caught with the money in our boots." This was discomfiting; the court-room echoed with the roar of laughter. Mr. Choate alone showed no sign either of amusement or of displeasure, but continued with even tranquillity, as if nothing peculiar had occurred. It will always be a source of regret that Mr. Choate did not appear in the trial of Professor Webster, for the murder of Dr. Parkman, the most famous criminal cause ever tried in New England. The story goes that he was solicited to undertake the defence, but refused to do so; that Franklin Dexter went to see him, hoping to persuade him to change his mind, and spent a whole afternoon in his library laying the case before him, and urging him. Choate paced up and down the room. Finally he turned to Mr. Dexter, and put to him one question. What it was is not known, but it touched a vital point. The reply was such that no further inducements could shake his fixed resolution.

The name of Choate acts like a talisman upon those who knew him; the word brings light into their eyes, and they think and talk of him without

personality can be made out only by gleanings from the recollections of many persons, some of the most important of which are the following: Edward G. Parker, *Reminiscences of Rufus Choate*, 1860; Edward Everett, address, in *Works*, iv. 178; George S. Hillard, in *New American Cyclopædia;* George Lunt, *Three Eras of New England*, etc. (as a lecturer); *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1861 (his lineage); Edwin P. Whipple, in *American Review*, 1847, or, *Essays and Reviews*, ii. (critical), and *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1878, also separately (recollections); *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1860, January, 1863; *North American Review*, January, 1863; *Hours at Home*, November, 1866; *National Quarterly Review*, 1873; *American Law Review*, October, 1876 (reminiscences); *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, August, 1859. — Ed.]

readily stopping. Biographies, articles, addresses, have perpetuated his memory and fed the flame of curiosity; but no one has ever yet drawn the man, — a task which, perhaps, is as impossible as to describe color or scent



CHIEF-JUSTICE LEMUEL SHAW.[1]

by words. His traits have not been, and cannot be, captured by a biographer and imprisoned in a book; but airy and sprite-like they ever flit away before the advancing pen, and refuse to be caught by it, however

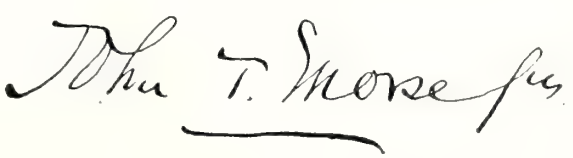
[1] [This cut follows a photograph, taken by Whipple & Black, in 1858. The Editor is indebted to Samuel S. Shaw, Esq., for the following memorandum: —

"There is no likeness of Chief-Justice Shaw of earlier date than the bust by S. H. Clevenger, modelled in 1839, in the possession of the Boston Athenæum, a copy of which fills a niche in the Supreme Court room at Boston. It was taken in his 59th year, and is an admirable portrait. The artist, whose career was cut short by a premature death in 1843, excelled in the fidelity of his likenesses. His residence in Boston was short, and it is probable that he saw the chief-justice only as a sitter in his studio. He has given much of the animation which lighted up his face when conversing on subjects which interested him. A daguerreotype of the four judges who then composed the full bench of the Supreme Court was taken by Litch & Whipple in 1845, from which enlarged photographs have been made. It is chiefly interesting as suggesting his appearance before the arrival of old age.

"A daguerreotype taken by Southworth & Hawes in 1854 has recently been enlarged in photographs, which have

fervidly it may race after them. If one could lay hands upon them, the most charming volume ever yet written would see the light.

One cannot resist speaking a few words of Choate in a paper like this, though it may perhaps seem unfair to single him out almost alone from among his eminent contemporaries. Judge B. R. Curtis, Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw, Judge Peleg Sprague, are but the beginning of a long list of jurists and advocates who adorned the Bench and Bar at Boston during this period. But a mere catalogue would be uninteresting, and to give more than a catalogue within any reasonable limits would be impossible. Moreover, it is not easy, possibly not wise, to undertake to speak freely of persons whose widows and children are still among us, and many of whose rivals and contemporaries, equally worthy of notice, still survive. Therefore it is, perhaps, quite as well that our allotted limit is already reached, or indeed passed.



attracted much attention from the picturesque effects obtained from a strong vertical light and deep shadows. It is a three-quarters length, faces directly front, and, though somewhat fantastical and removed from reality, is impressive.

"The large photograph by Whipple & Black taken in 1858, the chief-justice being then 77 years old, will probably be more generally recognized as a good portrait by those who now remember him than any other, — Hunt's excepted. In it all the furrows and wrinkles of old age are conspicuous, and their harsh effect is heightened by the dark color of the hair, which was natural, and remained but slightly changed to the end. The implacable severity of this picture would produce a false impression on those who had no means of correcting it, but it is on the whole very lifelike.

"The great, full-length portrait by Hunt, and its attendant studies and sketches belong to the history of art in this country. It was painted in 1854 at the request of the Essex Bar Association, and put in place under the supervision of the artist on December 22 of that year. He had undertaken the task with enthusiasm, and the result was accepted by the Bar and the public at large as a complete success. The committee, represented by the Hon. Otis P. Lord, reported their satisfaction in having 'a most faithful and true delineation of the form and features of Chief-Justice Shaw,' and attested to posterity its exact 'fidelity.' The justice of this verdict has apparently never been questioned by any critic. In the smaller sketches by Hunt, much esteemed by those who own them, there should be noticed an exaggeration of details, especially of the nose, amounting to caricature were it not for the dignity of the whole figure. The bust by King, in the Boston City Hall, was executed after the decease of the chief-justice from pictures and photographs.

"Besides the foregoing, one or two oil portraits of no value and several photographs, single or grouped with others, were taken, which merit no special comment." — Ed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HORTICULTURE OF BOSTON AND VICINITY.

BY MARSHALL PINCKNEY WILDER, PH.D.,

President of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

AS to the fruits of this region previous to the coming of the colonists we know but little.[1] Whether Leif and Thorwald, the Scandinavians, did or did not land on our shores in the tenth century, as the Sagas have it, to find grapes so abundant that they gave this land the name of Vinland, we still know that the vine was found on our coast by Champlain six hundred years afterward, and that it prospers through twenty-five degrees of latitude; and should the phylloxera continue its devastations in Europe, our continent may become, literally, the Vineland of the world. No nation possesses such wonderful resources for the culture of fruits; no people have made such rapid progress in the science of pomology; and to Boston and vicinity may be traced primarily the widespread interest in horticulture throughout our continent. Nor has this enterprise declined. Massachusetts retains her renown for her skill in horticultural science, and her interest in its advancement.

The earliest account that we have of the fruits and flowers of New England is given by the Pilgrims at Plymouth, where, in addition to Indian corn and other grains, they also found indigenous fruits and flowers. "Here are grapes," wrote Governor Edward Winslow in 1621, "white and red, and very sweet and strong also; strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries; plums of three sorts, white, black, and red, being almost as good as a damson: abundance of roses, white, red, and damask, single, but very sweet." [2]

The first orchard of which we have any note was that of the Rev. William Blackstone (Blaxton), planted on the west slope of Beacon Hill.[3] In Lonsdale, Rhode Island, whither he removed in 1634, there may still be seen near his favorite resort, "Study Hill," remains of trees planted by him, and from which were disseminated apples, now under cultivation, by the name of Blackstone. The first planting of fruits by the colonists of

[1] [See Dr. Asa Gray's chapter in Vol. I., on "The Flora of Boston and its vicinity." — ED.]

[2] Young's *Chronicle of the Pilgrims*, p. 234.

[3] [See Vol. I. p. 84. — ED.]

Massachusetts Bay, we believe, was the orchard of Governor John Endicott of Salem, about the year 1628. From this nursery we find that as late as 1648 Endicott sold five hundred apple-trees to William Trask, for which he received two hundred and fifty acres of land,—*an acre of land for two apple trees;* a noble illustration of the appreciation in which fruits were held by the colonists at that time. The planting of fruits by the colonists under Governor Winthrop was begun, we presume, soon after their arrival in 1630, for we find that seeds and stones of fruits are particularly mentioned among their outfits.

Next to Blackstone, Governor Winthrop was the most prominent in the horticulture of Boston, having, in addition to his farms at Governor's Island and on the Mystic River, a garden opposite the foot of School Street, and adjoining his house.[1] Winthrop had frequent correspondence with Endicott in regard to fruit-trees, as also had his son John, Governor of Connecticut; and we read of a good store of pippins from Governor Winthrop's garden. The colonial Legislature granted to Governor John Winthrop Conant's Island in Boston Harbor, afterward known as Governor's Island, on condition that he should plant thereon a vineyard, and should pay as rent therefor a hogshead of wine. Whether this vineyard was planted or not we have no means of ascertaining; but the contract was afterward altered to make the rent two bushels of apples a year, — one for the Governor, and one for the General Court.

One of the ancient gardens of Boston of which we have a distinct record is that of Gamaliel Wayte, in Summer Street, — the present site of the store of C. F. Hovey & Co.[2] He came over with Edward Hutchinson, and is called a planter, which probably meant farmer or gardener; the latter most likely, for we find by the *Book of Possessions* that this land is described as Wayte's Garden, and we know that it was noted for the superior excellence of its fruits. This was planted as early as, or before, 1642.[3] Gamaliel seems to have been one of our earliest horticulturists, and long possessed the ability not only to plant but to eat his fruits; for Judge Sewall, in his diary, states

[1] [See Vol. I. pp. 138, 161, 481. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. xxxi, No. 81. — Ed.]

[3] *Letter of the Hon. Thomas C. Amory.* This estate passed into the hands of Leonard Vassall, thence to John Hubbard and Frederick W. Geyer. Here once resided, in the family of Mr. Geyer, Mrs. Maryatt, whose gardens at Wimbledon were at one time the finest in England for their beauty and variety of flowering plants; and we may reasonably conjecture, says Mr. Amory, that "the taste and skill that produce such marvels were nurtured and fostered in her earlier days among the flower-beds of Summer Street." She died in 1855, at the age of eighty-one. This estate passed, in 1800, to Samuel P. Gardner, Esq., the father of our respected merchant and fellow-citizen John L. Gardner; and from him the latter probably inherited his love of those fruits and flowers which for many years have distinguished his conservatories in Brookline, and graced the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Of this estate the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop remarks: "No garden in Boston had finer fruit fifty years ago, and it was cultivated and cared for with the highest intelligence and skill. The best specimens of all the old varieties of pears were to be found there, and Mr. Gardner had a peculiar art of preserving them from decay and bringing them out after the season for them was over." How many of Wayte's trees or plants survived till these grounds came into the possession of Mr. Gardner we know not; but we have a diagram of the garden and the lists of its fruits in 1811, and as late as 1870 there was an old pear tree in the yard which was in a thrifty condition.

that he lived to the age of eighty-seven, and not long before his death was blessed with several new teeth.

Passing over a hundred years, of whose horticultural history little record remains, we find in the *Philosophical Transactions* (London, 1734) a paper communicated to the Royal Society by the Hon. Paul Dudley of Roxbury, Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, entitled "Some Observations on the Plants of New England, with Remarkable Instances of the Power of Vegetation," which gives us an account of the size and culture of fruits and vegetables growing in Roxbury in 1726, as follows: —

"The Plants of England, as well as those of the Fields and Orchards as those of the Garden, that have been brought over hither, suit mighty well with our Soil, and grow here to great Perfection.

"Our apples are without Doubt as good as those of England, and much fairer to look to; and so are the Pears, but we have not got all the Sorts.

"Our Peaches do rather excel those of England; and then we have not the Trouble or Expense of Walls for them, for our Peach Trees are all Standards; and I have had in my own Garden seven or eight Hundred fine Peaches of the Rare-ripes growing at a Time on one Tree.

"Our people of late Years have run so much upon Orchards, that in a village near Boston, consisting of about forty Families, they made near three Thousand Barrels of Cyder. This was in the Year 1721. And in another Town, of two Hundred Families, in the same year, I am credibly informed, they made near ten Thousand Barrels. Some of our Apple Trees will make six, some have made seven, Barrels of Cyder, but this is not common; and the Apples will yield from seven to nine Bushels for a Barrel of Cyder.

"A good Apple Tree with us will measure from six to ten Foot in Girt. I have seen a fine Pearmain, at a Foot from the Ground, measure ten Feet and four inches round. This Tree in one Year has borne thirty-eight Bushels (by Measure) of as fine Pearmains as ever I saw in England. A Kentish Pippin, at three foot from the Ground, seven Foot in Girt; a Golden Rossetin, six Foot round. The largest Apple Tree that I could find was ten Foot and six Inches round; but this was no Graft.

"An Orange Pear Tree grows the largest and yields the fairest Fruit. I know one of them, near forty Foot high, that measures six Foot and six Inches in Girt a Yard from the Ground, and has borne thirty Bushels at a Time. I have a Warden Pear Tree that measures five foot six inches round. One of my Neighbors has a Bergamot Pear Tree, that was brought from England in a Box about the Year 1643, that now measures six Foot about, and has borne twenty-two Bushels of fine Pears in one Year.

"Our Peach Trees are large and fruitful, and bear commonly in three Years from the Stone. I have one in my Garden of twelve Years' Growth, that measures two Foot and an Inch in Girt a Yard from the Ground, which two Years ago bore me near a Bushel of fine Peaches. Our common Cherries are not so good as the Kentish Cherries of England; and we have no Dukes or Heart Cherries, unless in two or three Gardens."

We find in 1730 that apples from Blackstone's orchard were for sale in the Boston market. In 1770 we find the following advertisement in the *Boston Gazette*: —

"To be sold by George Spriggs, Gardener to John Hancock, Esq., a Large Assortment of English Fruit Trees, grafted and inoculated of the best and richest kinds of Cherry Trees, Pear Trees, Plumb Trees, Peach Trees, Apricots, Nectarines, Quinces, Lime Trees, Apple Trees, grafted and ungrafted, and sundry Mulberry Trees which will be fit to transplant the next year, and Medleys."

John Hancock's nursery and pasture were near the site of the present State House,[1] and his garden and orchard surrounded his princely mansion. Governor Hancock's garden is said to have been one of great note, having received constant accessions from England. Miss Eliza Greenleaf Gardner, a distant relative of Mrs. Hancock, who still lives, was for many years an inmate of the Hancock house, and states that —

"The grounds were laid out in ornamental flower-beds, bordered with box; box trees of large size, with a great variety of fruit, among which were several immense mulberry trees, dotted the garden."[2]

Among the prominent gardens which existed in Boston previous to the Revolution was that of Governor Thomas Hutchinson,[3] on Garden Court, extending back to Hanover and Fleet streets.[4] These grounds are said to have been extensive, and, tradition informs us, they were well stocked with the choice fruits and flowers of those days, as were also the gardens of Sir Henry Frankland and others, in that part of the town.[5]

Conspicuous among the gardens in the early part of this century, scattered over Pemberton Hill from Southack's Court, now Howard Street, to Beacon Street and around the Capitol, was that of Dr. James Lloyd, father of our Senator in Congress, running back to Somerset Street, where a house built by his son, the Hon. James Lloyd, is still standing.

On Tremont Street, nearly opposite King's Chapel, was the estate of Lieut.-Governor William Phillips, formerly the residence of Peter Faneuil,[6] whose gardens and grounds are said to have been very fine; and here, it is also said, Andrew, uncle of Peter, built the first greenhouse in New England.

But the most conspicuous, extensive, and elegant garden of those days was that of Gardiner Greene, who also had one of the early greenhouses in Boston. The grounds were terraced, and planted with vines, fruits, ornamental trees, flowering shrubs and plants, and were to me when I visited them, sixty-five years ago, a scene of beauty and enchantment which I shall never forget.[7] Here were growing, in the open air, Black Hamburg and

[1] [See Vol. II. p. xlvi. — Ed.]

[2] Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, pp. 339, 340.

[3] Governor Hutchinson had also a residence on Milton Hill, with orchards and a garden. This estate was confiscated, and became successively the residence of James Warren, Barney Smith, Jonathan Russell, and now of Miss Rosalie G. Russell. Hutchinson appears to have been fond of rural life, and was himself a practical cultivator, having grafted by his own hand a tree for Mrs. Jeremy Smith, with the St. Michael pear. This tree, with some of the remains of his orchards, survived until nearly the present time. He also planted the old button-wood trees on the sides of the road on Milton Hill. *Letter of Edmund J. Baker.*

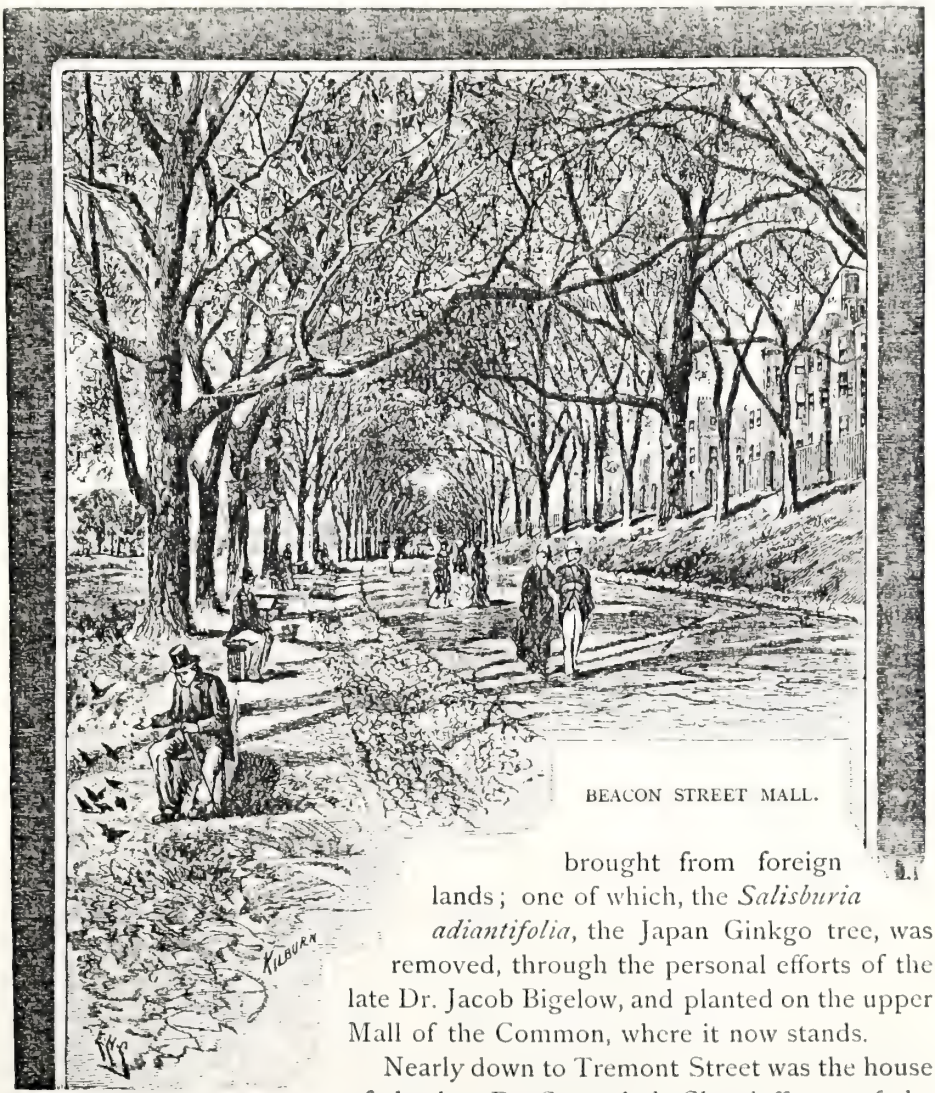
[4] [See Vol. II. p. xi, 526. — Ed.]

[5] Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, pp. 166, 167.

[6] [See Vol. II. pp. 259, 523; and the view in the present volume, p. 67. — Ed.]

[7] [See the frontispiece of the present volume. — Ed.]

White Chasselas grapes, apricots, nectarines, peaches, pears, and plums in perfection, presenting a scene which made a deep impression on my mind, and which gave me some of those strong incentives that have governed me in the cultivation of fruits and flowers. Here were many ornamental trees,



BEACON STREET MALL.

brought from foreign lands; one of which, the *Salisburia adiantifolia*, the Japan Ginkgo tree, was removed, through the personal efforts of the late Dr. Jacob Bigelow, and planted on the upper Mall of the Common, where it now stands.

Nearly down to Tremont Street was the house of the late Dr. Samuel A. Shurtleff, one of the early vice-presidents of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in whose garden was originated the Shurtleff grape and other fruits now growing on his estate in Brookline.[1]

One of the largest gardens of that day was that of Governor James Bowdoin. He had a large house and an extensive lot of land on Beacon Street,

[1] Here have been raised from seed the President, General Grant, Admiral Farragut, and other pears, which should be more generally known.

at the corner of Bowdoin Street, reaching quite over the hill to what is now Ashburton Place.[1] There he had a garden abounding in the finest fruits, — pears and peaches, apples and grapes. The Hon. James Bowdoin, his son, lived on Milk Street, in the house where our honored citizen the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was born. It was known as the "Mansion House," and had a garden extending back almost to Franklin Street, which was filled with fruit trees of the best sorts. Here General Henry Dearborn, of Revolutionary memory, who married the widow of Mr. Bowdoin, resided for a while; and his son, General H. A. S. Dearborn the first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, was familiar with that garden, and from it he probably gained some of the zeal which characterized him as a leader in horticulture. Of this garden says Mr. Winthrop: "There were no more delicious Saint Michael, Brown Beurré, Monsieur Jean, or Saint Germain pears to be found anywhere in Boston than I have eaten from those trees." [2]

Another garden, which was spread around the present site of the Revere House, was that of Kirk Boott, an eminent merchant, and one of the founders of Lowell. It was the home of John Wright Boott and William Boott. Here, fifty years ago, were fruit-trees and vines; and foreign grapes and other tender fruits, which now succeed only under glass, grew in the open air. Here was also a greenhouse with a choice collection of plants. Some of these were obtained from the Duke of Bedford and others in England, through the acquaintance which Dr. Francis Boott, a brother and a celebrated botanist in London, had with such growers. The collection of amaryllises and orchids was the best in the country, — the latter having been the first attempt in New England in the culture of this tribe of plants. Here, forty years ago, was a magnificent specimen of the *Phaius grandiflora* (now *Bletia Tankervillæ*), then a rare plant.[3]

Perrin May, a retired old merchant of Boston, was a skilful cultivator of fruits. His garden was on Washington Street, at the South End, where he produced remarkable specimens of fruits, and especially the pear, whose success he attributed partly to the entrapping of cats and fertilizing the soil with them.

Summer Street was for a long time one of the most delightful in the city, and well merited its name. Here, in the early part of this century, were

[1] [See Vol. II. pp. xlvii, 522. — Ed.]

[2] *Letter of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.* Mr. Bowdoin had also a large farm at Dorchester, now known as Mount Bowdoin, where he had an orchard of apple and pear trees. He also experimented with fruit-trees on Naushon Island, now the property of the Hon. John M. Forbes. His main attention was, however, given to horses, cows, and sheep; the breeding of the latter is still continued. This estate was in the care of the father of Mr. Winthrop, for many years after the death of his uncle, Mr. Bowdoin; and says Mr. Winthrop, "I have worn clothes made of Naushon wool." The cheese from this island was quite celebrated more than half a century ago; and Mr. Winthrop adds: "I doubt if any one in Massachusetts did more for agriculture and horticulture at that period than James Bowdoin, the son of the Governor."

[3] Mr. Boott presented these to the Hon. John A. Lowell, from whence some of the orchids went to the collection of Edward S. Rand of Dedham, and to which he made large additions by importation from Europe, and they were finally given by him and his friend James Lawrence to the Botanic Garden at Cambridge.

the residences of Joseph Barrell,[1] Governor James Sullivan (afterward William Gray's), Benjamin Bussey, Nathaniel Goddard, Henry Hill, and David Ellis (father of the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis), whose gardens were supplied with the fruits and flowers of those days, and in them peaches and foreign grapes, and the old pears of which we have spoken, ripened every year.

Other old gardens on Summer Street and in its vicinity were those of Amory and Salisbury, beside that of Edmund Quincy, which ran back to Bedford Street; Judge Jackson's, on the corner of Bedford and Chauncy streets, where the building of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association now stands, and where the Rowe estate was.[2]

The great event in the progress of our horticulture during the present century was the establishment of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1829. "Its first president was General Henry Alexander Scammel Dearborn, whose name will ever be gratefully remembered, and to whom we are more indebted than to any other man, in its early history, for its prestige and popularity both at home and abroad. . . . From its first president down to the present time the Society has been fortunate in securing gentlemen to fill the chair, all of whom have been lovers of rural art. Dearborn, Cook, Vose, Walker, Cabot, Breck, and Stickney have gone before us; but, thanks to a kind Providence, Hovey, Hyde, Strong, Parkman, Gray, Hayes, and the writer are still spared to labor in carrying out the beneficent designs of its noble founders."[3] But perhaps the most beneficial act of the Society was in founding that "Garden of Graves," the Mount Auburn Cemetery, and from this the Society has already received large sums of money, and is entitled to a perpetual share of its income in the future.[4]

[1] [Mr. Barrell drained and made a garden of the swampy ground then existing at the lower part of Franklin Street. — Ed.]

[2] Mr. George W. Lyman's recollections of the gardens and open grounds of Boston are as follows: —

"On Green and Chardon streets was Mr. Samuel Parkman's estate with a large garden; on Green Street that of Mr. Samuel Gore, and one other large estate, owner's name forgotten; on Bowdoin Square and Chardon Street, estate of Governor Gore, garden and land; the estates of Joseph Coolidge, 2d, and Kirk Boott. On Cambridge and Middlecot, now Bowdoin Street, was the large estate of Joseph Coolidge the elder, of Mr. Mackey, and much vacant land on the west; on what is now Tremont Street, the gardens of Dr. Danforth, Dr. Lloyd, Gardiner Greene, and Governor Phillips, extending to high land, and including the Bowdoin estate, and perhaps others. On Beacon Hill was a monument, with a gilt eagle on its top. I regret the destruction of this hill and monument, but it was invaded and destroyed by parties known as improvers; and this healthy gravel and fertile loam, as well as that on Pemberton Hill, were removed and dumped into the filthy Mill Pond. I hope the only remaining classical hill, the Copp's, will be preserved for all time. On Summer Street was the garden of William Gray, who defined 'enough' as 'a little more;' that of Benjamin Bussey, and that of Samuel P. Gardner, which bore some very fine pears not now known. On Beacon Street was the large estate of Governor Hancock, extending to Belknap (changed by Cornelius Coolidge to Joy) Street, and northerly to Mt. Vernon Street; and of Dr. Joy, from Beacon to Mt. Vernon Street. There was south of Walnut Street a large lot of land extending to Charles River, with a small powder-house and a spring of water on the same.*

"You will perceive that the old town of Boston is very much altered from what it was at the date of my memorandum. In my opinion it was a much pleasanter place to reside in than it is at present. I was pleased with your kindly recollection of me, and I hope you will continue to enjoy your fondness for horticulture, flowers, etc., for many years."

[3] Mr. Wilder's *Address at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society*, September, 1879.

[4] Mr. Wilder's *Address at the Laying of the Corner-stone of Horticultural Hall, on School Street.*

* Writes Mr. Lyman, under his own hand: "This lot is now covered with houses and streets." — May 24, 1881.

While we have no space to dwell on our long-preserved Common, with its lawns and fountains, its malls and monument, we must not forget the Public Garden of Boston. The origin of this may be traced to the desire of a few citizens who were interested in horticultural improvements and rural embellishments, but more especially in the establishment of a Botanic or a Public Garden, similar to those of the cities of the Old World. Among

BREWER FOUNTAIN.[1]

these gentlemen was Mr. Horace Gray (father of our Chief-Justice Gray), to whose great enterprise and indomitable perseverance we are, perhaps, more than to any other man indebted for the original idea. Mr. Gray had a small conservatory attached to his town house in Kingston Street, in which was kept a good collection of camellias and other hard-wooded plants, with a general assortment supplied from his greenhouses at Brighton, where he had for the growth of grapes several houses in different styles of construction, but all with curved roofs, — of which he was a great advocate. Mr. Gray, in 1839, with a few associates, obtained from the city a lease of this marginal area

[1] [This fountain on the Common was the gift of the late Gardner Brewer, Esq. — Ed.]

for a Botanic Garden, upon which a greenhouse had been built, while the grounds were partially laid out with a variety of ornamental trees and plants. A company was organized, of which Mr. Gray was chairman, and went zealously to work. A very large circus building situated just back of the corner, west of Beacon and Charles streets, was converted into an immense conservatory for plants and birds. This had four galleries, to each of which plants were assigned according to a proper classification. It became a place of great attraction for the public until the building and the entire collection were destroyed by fire.[1]

The adjacent grounds were filled up and the garden was enlarged by the city, with the provision that it was never to be built on. In 1859 these grounds became our Public Garden,[2] and in 1860 it was remodelled by laying out and planting on a definite and proper plan. This garden embraces about twenty-four acres of land, and contains a choice collection of ornamental trees,[3] shrubs, and plants; and in the summer season ninety thousand bedded plants make it an object of splendor and interest.

The early history of the garden is told in the following letter from Mr. John Cadness, who is now living in Flushing, New York: —

"I was engaged by Dr. Boott of London, through Dr. John Lindley, Secretary of the London Horticultural Society's Gardens at Chiswick. I left England in June, 1839, arriving in the United States in August, and took charge of the Boston Public Garden on the 7th of that month, under a three years' engagement.

"I found a large and, at that time, a very fine collection of plants, especially Camellias, among which were some of the largest plants in the country, notably *Alba plenas*, one of which was said to have been raised from a cutting by the late Dr. Dixwell, of Boston. Also quite a number of grafted standard trees, with fine heads, of all the old varieties, such as Gilesii, Chandleri, Elegans, Floyi, Hume's blush, Duchesse d'Orleans, Donklaerii, with many French varieties, and all imported plants. Among

[1] [The following extract is from a Boston paper of that date, and will give some idea of its character: —

"The Conservatory. — We advise our friends who are as usual seeking amusement during the Christmas holidays not to omit looking in at the Public Conservatory. There are above one thousand Camellia Japonica plants, some of the largest now in full splendor, and others on the point of bursting their beautiful buds. Among them are at least twenty full-grown trees ten to thirty years old. It is well known that the former possessor of this superb collection of Camellias, Marshall P. Wilder, of Dorchester, spared neither pains nor expense to procure the finest plants from the justly celebrated nurseries in Europe, and that his most recent and highly estimated seedling varieties are comprised in it. But it is not too well known that one of his motives for disposing of this collection to the society, at a great pecuniary sacrifice to himself, was the desire that his fellow-citizens might conveniently and frequently enjoy the pleasure of viewing it. It is calculated that during the next five or six weeks several thousand Camellia blossoms will expand; hundreds are now in full bloom, and contrast beautifully with the dark glossy foliage." — Ed.]

Among the plants destroyed was one whose history may be noted. It was a large, double, white camellia, rooted from a cutting by Dr. Dixwell, in his study on Allston Street, and purchased of him by the writer, about fifty years since, for the sum of thirty dollars. This camellia was burned down nearly to its root, but afterward sprouted again. It then went to Mr. Jonathan French of Roxbury, and thence to William E. Baker, Ridge Hill Farm, Wellesley, where it is now in a green old age.

[2] [The annexed view of the Public Garden represents it in its present condition. The tower on the left is that of the Providence Railroad Station. The spire in the middle distance is that of the Arlington Street Church, occupied by the same parish which worshipped in Federal Street under Dr. Channing. On the right the low tower is that of Trinity, of which a full view is given in the chapter on "Architecture." The taller one is of the Congregational Church on Berkeley Street. — Ed.]

[3] The number of trees in this garden is fifteen hundred, and the whole number of trees under city care is twenty-three thousand.

PUBLIC GARDEN.

other greenhouse plants, many of the most showy new Holland plants then in fashion; some varieties of Chinese Azaleas, Ericas, and a variety of tropical plants, — as Strelitzias, Sago Palm, Bananas, Hibiscus, Eugenias (Rose-apple) and a large collection of Cape bulbs and Amaryllis, Pelargoniums, many of Beck's and Cock's (of London) new seedling prize flowers, with the finest set of herbaceous Calceolarias ever seen here.

"The Conservatory and two other houses were erected on land west of Charles Street. The conservatory was a very large structure, and had an imposing appearance; but was in a bad position, being exposed to the cold winds of the Back Bay, and in severe winter weather was difficult to manage. There was also a fine collection of tropical and European singing-birds in the conservatory, of which were some rare specimens.

"The gardens were only partly laid out, from the nature of the land; which being from four to six feet below the street level, and filled in with all sorts of city refuse, was a great part of it subject to the inroads of the tide. However, a fine broad walk was laid from the entrance at the foot of Beacon Street to the end of the Common, with a border planted with ornamental trees, shrubbery, standard roses, herbaceous and other plants, which had a fine appearance. A few large beds, cut out wherever the soil would admit of it, were planted with the Dahlia, of which there was a good collection.

"There was also imported from Groom of Walworth, England, a complete bed of prize tulips, the first ever imported into the United States, valued at $1000, but costing Mr. Gray $1500, and which for a time was a great attraction. Mr. Gray supported the place during the time I had charge of it, and I always understood that he was the leading spirit in its establishment. He devoted much of his time and means to aid in its success, and, in connection with the late Mr. Teschemacher,[1] did more to that end than any other person. The two great difficulties in the case arose, I think, from the nature of the ground, which rendered it impossible to plant the proper kinds of ornamental trees, which in their growth would have improved and changed in a short time the character of the place; also from the want of the conservatory and other glass, which would have been very effective on the place."

Among the most potent agents in the promotion of horticulture at the beginning of the present century was the establishment of the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, which has ever exercised a happy influence on horticulture and the knowledge of plants. It had for its early patron the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, which in 1801 gave a liberal subscription to establish a Professorship of Natural History; and this led to the planting of the Botanic Garden,[2] at Harvard University: and this again has exerted a direct influence on the taste which ultimately led to the formation of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.[3]

[1] Professor James E. Teschemacher, afterward corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, who was one of the most eminent botanists and chemists of our day.

[2] *Transactions for the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture*, New Series, vol. i. p. 28.

[3] *History of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society*, p. 40. Under the direction of professors Thomas Nuttall, Thaddeus William Harris, Asa Gray, and Charles S. Sargent, it has had a world-wide reputation, and now, under the direction of Professor George L. Goodale, is in a very satisfactory condition. An effort is now making for its permanent endowment.

The Bussey Institution[1] and the Arnold Arboretum at Jamaica Plain, also departments of Harvard University, give promise of great usefulness, not only in promoting Agriculture and Arboriculture, but as prominent agents in advancing the cause of Horticulture and a knowledge of the endless variety of trees and plants, of which, under the direction of Professor Sargent the curator, there are now growing in the Arboretum two thousand five hundred species. The funds for the establishment of the Bussey Institution were derived from the bequest of Benjamin Bussey; and those for the Arboretum from James Arnold of New Bedford, who constituted the late Dr. George B. Emerson and others trustees, with authority to appropriate such funds for this purpose. These institutions are in a prosperous condition, each carrying out the objects for which they were designed.[2]

Our account of suburban gardens and estates, almost entirely the creation of Boston taste and wealth, must be briefer than we could wish. We begin with regions now within our municipality.

In Dorchester were the gardens and orchards of some of the first settlers, and some of the old pear-trees planted by them have survived to the present time. Of those in the present century, which have been more or less noted, we may mention the estates of the Rev. Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris,[3] William Clapp, Ebenezer T. Andrews (the partner of Isaiah Thomas), Samuel Downer, Cheever Newhall, Zebedee Cook, Elijah Vose, William Oliver, John Richardson, William R. Austin. From other gardens have gone forth many of the choice fruits which are now in cultivation, such as the Downer cherry, the Andrews, Frederick Clapp, Harris, Clapp's Favorite, and other seedling pears, and we hope the last named may endure even longer than the marble on which its form is engraved in Forest Hills Cemetery;[4] and to these we might add the Dorchester blackberry, the President Wilder strawberry, and just over the borders of Dorchester, in Milton, the Diana grape,

[1] The property of Woodland Hill was given to Harvard College on the following conditions; namely: "That they will establish there a course of instruction in practical agriculture, in useful and ornamental gardening, in botany, and in such other branches of natural sciences as may tend to promote a knowledge of practical agriculture and the various arts subservient thereto and connected therewith, and cause such course of lectures to be delivered there, at such seasons of the year and under such regulations as they may think best adapted to promote the ends designed; and also to furnish gratuitous aid, if they shall think it expedient, to such meritorious persons as may resort there for instruction. The institution so established shall be called the 'Bussey Institution.'" — *Thomas Motley's Letter.*

[2] This place, now called Woodland Hill, on which Thomas Motley, President of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, now lives, by virtue of Mr. Bussey's bequest to Mrs. Motley, was purchased by Mr. Bussey in 1815; and here he afterward planted orchards of various fruits, pears, plums, and peaches, especially of the apple and cherries (largely Mazzard), as Mr. Bussey used to say, for the birds; "for we found they were quite fond of cherries, and took their full share." *Letter of Thomas Motley.*

[3] Dr. Harris was a lover of fine fruit, and once said to the writer: "Your exhibition of pears is grand; but there is one variety that I miss, — the Bon Chrétien (the Good Christian). I shall bring some from my garden to-morrow."

[4] The Massachusetts Agricultural Club, desiring to name this pear for the writer, and to disseminate it for general cultivation, offered Mr. Clapp one thousand dollars for the control of it; but he declined, preferring to give to it the name it now bears. On these grounds have been originated from seed many other fine pears, and from these grounds large quantities of choice fruits are annually sent to market.

raised by Mrs. Diana Crehore.[1] This was brought to notice in 1843, being the first seedling American grape at the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which was deemed worthy of notice.

Zebedee Cook, the second president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, some fifty years since had a large garden opposite the Andrews estate, on the east side of the then turnpike-road, where he successfully grew several kinds of foreign grapes, apricots, peaches, and pears. Among the grapes was a white variety named Horatio, after Mr. Horatio Sprague, Consul at Gibraltar, from whom he received it, — known now as the Nice grape.

Mr. Newhall was a distinguished cultivator, and the first treasurer of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. His orchards were extensive, embracing a large number of varieties, especially of the pear, which he cultivated with success until about three years since, when he died at the age of ninety.[2]

Samuel Downer,[3] one of the founders of the Horticultural Society, had a large orchard, which still remains in good order, and until recently was under the intelligent care of his son, the late Samuel Downer, Jr.[4] He was an early, enterprising, and useful member, and took a deep interest in pomology until his death at eighty years of age. He was especially interested in the origin and character of native fruits, and, as he used to say, he loved to be "mousing" after new varieties, especially such as were of native origin.

Elijah Vose, the third president of the Horticultural Society, had a fine plantation of fruits, and he grew some to great perfection, — especially the Duchesse d'Angoulême pear, which sometimes, for extraordinary specimens, commanded from seventy-five cents to a dollar each.

William Oliver, Vice-president of the Horticultural Society, had a good orchard of pears and other fruits on an estate which, after his death, became the residence of ex-Governor Henry J. Gardner.

Another very old garden in Dorchester, of which our valued citizen Mr. John Richardson has been the occupant and owner for a long course of years, deserves a record. The house[5] was the birthplace of Edward Everett, and is understood to have been built in colonial times by Governor Oliver, who is supposed to have laid out the garden, which is now interesting for

[1] Who still lives at the advanced age of eighty-four years.

[2] Mr. Newhall's place was once the residence of Thomas Motley, father of the historian John Lothrop Motley, and of his brother Thomas Motley, the President of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, who were here born.

[3] He was son of the celebrated Dr. Downer, "the fighting surgeon," who had a personal encounter with a British soldier on his return from the battle at Concord. Their fire having missed, Downer knocked him down and then ran him through with his own bayonet, and said: "It was not ten minutes before I got another good shot." Dr. Downer was in prison in Halifax, from which he escaped; was also in the Dartmoor and the Forten prisons for a while, and was in several desperate engagements under John Paul Jones, both as sailor and surgeon. He was engaged in the expedition up the Kennebec to Canada. Massachusetts awarded him fifteen dollars for the loss of his surgical instruments. *Letter of Samuel Downer, Jr.*

[4] Mr. Downer died in the summer of 1881.

[5] [See Vol. II. p. 367. — Ed.]

its old trees and antique appearance, but more especially for the number of choice fruits and flowers, many of which have been produced from seed by the hands of its skilful proprietor.

The pear orchard of the late William R. Austin, Treasurer of the Horticultural Society, was, and is still, famous for the size and beauty of its fruit, produced by pruning his trees into the shape of a wineglass.

And here, in Dorchester, if I may be permitted to allude to it, are the experimental grounds of the writer, formerly the estate of Governor Increase Sumner, which at the time of his death, 1799, passed into the hands of his son, General William H. Sumner, one of the founders of the Horticultural Society, and finally came to its present owner. On these experimental grounds have been produced, under the personal inspection of its present proprietor, within the last fifty years, more than twelve hundred varieties of fruits; and from thence there were exhibited, on one occasion, four hundred and four distinct varieties of the pear. Here was originated, by the art of hybridization, the Camellias Wilderi and the Mrs. Abby Wilder, which received, more than thirty years ago, a special prize of fifty dollars; also the Mrs. Julia Wilder, the Jennie Wilder, and other camellias of great perfection: and from this place went to the Boston Public Garden, on its foundation in 1839, the entire collection of greenhouse and garden plants, as already mentioned.

Roxbury was noted for its interest in fruit culture at an early period, as has been seen by the statement of Chief-Justice Paul Dudley, already quoted. This town was remarkable for its production of apples and the quantity of cider manufactured. The farm of the late Ebenezer Seaver, member of Congress from 1803 to 1813, was distinguished for the culture of fruit. This estate has passed regularly down in the family line through Joshua, Jonathan, the Ebenezer Seavers, and the Parkers, lineal descendants, who now live on it.[1]

Mrs. Parker remembers several large ancient pear-trees standing on the home-lot, which were old but vigorous when she was young. An Orange, and a Minot pear-tree of great size in the trunk, and an excellent pear for cooking, still remain on the lawn, beside a Gennetin pear-tree, whose age

[1] In the account-books of Jonathan Seaver, from 1731 and on, we find that he was largely interested in the manufacture of "Sider." From 1740 to 1749, we find the Rev. Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church, annually charged with from three to five barrels of "Sider" for several years; and that on April 24, 1749, Mr. Seaver credited him with "Thirty Pounds in Cash, old tenor in part, for Sundries." The old and new cider-mills are remembered by Mrs. Parker, a daughter of "Squire Seaver," who at an advanced age still lives in the old house. Large heaps of fragrant apples lay outside of the mill in the autumn, and during the second Ebenezer Seaver's day, a little more than a hundred years ago, the bears were attracted to them from the "Rocky Wilderness Land" which lay to the southwest, towards what is now Forest Hills. Upon one occasion a bear lingered tasting till he was discovered. Mr. Seaver and his neighbors gave chase, and finally captured him on the marsh land in Dorchester, in the vicinity of what is now Crescent Avenue. The neighbors were invited to a feast in honor of the occasion, at Mr. Seaver's house, the bear furnishing the chief dish as well as a steak for each guest to take home. The Seaver estate is now covered with many fine buildings.

none can remember, and which bears two or three bushels yearly of its small early fruit. During the period of Ebenezer Seaver's service in Congress, Colonel Matlock, a gentleman whom he met there, gave him some scions from the original Seckel pear-tree, near Philadelphia. He sent them carefully home in a letter, and his son Jonathan grafted them before his return, they being the first of the kind, so far as he knew, in this vicinity.[1]

There was also where Schuyler Street now is an immemorial Iron pear-tree, so tall that the crown of the tree was usually not picked. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, and during the first years of the present, the fruit of the mulberry was much esteemed, there being then few of the many small-fruits which are now cultivated. The widow of the second Ebenezer received in one season seventy dollars for the fruit sold from one large mulberry-tree which stood in front of the house, beside using much herself for the entertainment of friends. It lived till after the marriage, in 1820, of the granddaughter, who remembers it well. This farm was also celebrated for its cherries, but the trees were blown down in the gale of 1815.

The late George J. Parker had large fields of currants and gooseberries. There have been gathered in one year fifty barrels of gooseberries from bushes which he planted.[2]

Prior to the present century Judge John Lowell was a leading patron in the promotion of improved agriculture, and he was President of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, for many years. He had an orchard, garden, and one of the first greenhouses, and contributed to the fund for establishing the Botanic Garden at Cambridge.[3] This property was inherited by his son, the Hon. John Lowell, who was also president for some years of the above named society, and who stood at the head of the horticulturists and agriculturists in New England, and was styled by General Dearborn the Columella of the Northern States. He presided at the preliminary meeting which led to the establishment of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

Mr. Lowell received scions of fruit-trees from Mr. Knight, President of the Horticultural Society of London, and from other eminent pomologists of Europe, and so liberally distributed them to his friends that his trees were often crippled in their growth. He was also interested in the growth of exotics, and had in his collection some of the first orchideous plants of which we have any record. Among his plants sixty years ago he had a famous *Strelitzia regina*, which was then an object of great curiosity. No man in the early part of this century did more for the promotion of pomology in New England than Mr. Lowell.[4]

[1] The tree is still flourishing, and on Saturday, September 27, 1879, there were picked from it over two barrels of pears. One individual pear, by actual measurement, was eight and five-eighths inches each way round. The family had never seen one to equal it in size. The original Seckel tree is still standing in Ward 26, Philadelphia.

[2] *Letter of Miss Parker*, granddaughter of the Hon. Ebenezer Seaver.

[3] *Augustus Lowell's Letter.*

[4] This estate was next inherited by the Hon. John A. Lowell, our esteemed and venerable citizen, who added largely to its glass structures, one of which was an orchid-house, to contain

In Roxbury was the garden of General Henry A. S. Dearborn, who will ever be gratefully remembered as the first president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He was also a great leader in the establishment of the Mount Auburn Cemetery, and the founder of Forest Hills Cemetery. In his garden were raised the Dearborn Seedling pear and other fruits. He gave several hundred ornamental trees to be planted at Mount Auburn, and was personally occupied in the laying out and adornment of both this and the Forest Hills Cemetery; and to him are the public more indebted primarily for the prestige and popularity of these institutions than to any other man. His labors, addresses, and communications for the press in regard to the science and practice of horticulture, and rural embellishments, have given to his name in this community an honorable standing.

Here also was the garden of the late Enoch Bartlett, one of the founders and first vice-presidents of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, where may now be seen the first Bartlett pear-trees imported, a variety which is more popular than any other in our country. These grounds were previously owned by Captain Brewer, and on them he had planted many fruit-trees. When Mr. Bartlett purchased this place, in 1820, he found two young trees, which on fruiting proved to be what is now known as the Bartlett. Both of them still bear fruit, the largest being over forty inches in circumference, three feet above the ground. This pear was afterward ascertained to be the Williams Bon Chrétien, an English variety.[1]

At Jamaica Plain were the garden and orchard of Captain John Prince, who was a successful cultivator of fruits and flowers. In 1825 he had eleven varieties of pears, four of plums, two of apricots, besides grapes and many varieties of apples. His greenhouse contained some of the early camellias introduced into New England, — among which was a Double White, purchased when it was only a foot high, of Joseph Barrell of Charlestown, but a few hours previous to Mr. Barrell's death.

In Roxbury, one of the most noted places during the last century for the production of fruits and vegetables was the old Williams homestead, on Walnut Avenue. This was the home of Aaron Davis Williams, who succeeded his father, and who during a long and useful life contributed largely to the advancement of the horticulture of our vicinity. His father, John Davis Williams, was celebrated as a cultivator at the close of the last century, as was probably his grandfather before him. From the orchards of this place for more than a hundred years have come to the Boston market many of the choicest fruits and vegetables. This spot is also memorable as the birthplace of the brothers John Davis Williams and Moses Williams, so well known as merchants of Boston, the latter now surviving at ninety years, in a healthful old age.[2]

the plants bequeathed to him by John Wright Boott, some of which are now at the Botanic Garden, Cambridge, to which Mr. Lowell also gave a large part of his own botanical library.

[1] *Letter of Allen Putnam.*

[2] From whom the writer has received the following letter: —

BOSTON, May 10, 1881.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of yesterday was received this morning. The house on Walnut Avenue, in the Roxbury

Another fine old place in Roxbury was that of Rufus G. Amory, with its long avenues, entering from Washington Street, and bordered with noble elms, which still live. He was much interested in ornamental culture, importing trees and shrubs from Europe; and, it is said, received our common Barberry bush at a high price, while he was paying men at the rate of five shillings a day to dig them out of his own grounds. This estate, "Elm Hill," was for a long time the residence of the late John D. W. Williams, but is now (1881) laid out into streets and cut up into house-lots.

The Roxbury Russet apple was a great favorite a hundred years ago, and many orchards produced from five hundred to one thousand or more barrels a year. It is believed to have originated on the old farm of Ebenezer Davis, where some trees of the original orchard still remain.

The farm of Samuel Ward, now belonging to the Brookline Land Company, was famous, fifty years ago, for its Roxbury Russet apples, often producing a thousand barrels a year; and also for cherries, of which he sent to market forty to fifty bushels daily in the season, and occasionally he despatched a four-ox team to Providence with seventy-five bushels.

Among the orchards of early times were those of the Curtises at Jamaica Plain. These have passed down to the present occupants in direct lineal descent, and from them immense crops of apples have been sent to the Boston market, in which the Curtises are the largest dealers and exporters of this fruit, shipping them by thousands upon thousands of barrels to foreign ports.[1]

Nor should we omit the ancestral home of our worthy citizen Aaron Davis Weld, in West Roxbury, so celebrated for its orchards in olden time, and during the last forty years for its famous apples and the renowned Weld Farm cider and vinegar. In addition to great crops of fruits, two hundred tons of hay are cut on it a year.

In Roxbury, too, is the splendid estate of William Gray, Jr., ex-President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. This is on the borders of Dorchester, and was formerly a portion of the celebrated estate of Colonel James Swan,[2] long imprisoned in France "for debts not of his own contracting, and who was one of those who helped throw the tea into the har-

District, where my brother, Aaron D. Williams, was born, and where he died, was originally a lean-to, two stories on the front and one story on the rear. It was inherited by my father, John D. Williams, who was baptized John, and who married Hannah Davis. After his marriage, he petitioned the Legislature and took the name of John Davis Williams. My brother, the oldest child of my father, was also baptized John, and after he became a man he likewise petitioned the Legislature for leave to take the name of John Davis Williams instead of John Williams; but, as my father was a farmer and received but few letters, my brother never signed his name *junior*, as it appears to me now that it would have been proper for him to have done. However, no trouble ever arose on this account. My father and (I am almost certain) my grandfather, were born — at any rate, they lived — on the same estate where my brother Aaron D. was born, and where he died. There were no better cultivators of fruits and vegetables than my father in his day, and my brother Aaron in his. My father left an estate in 1807 of $85,000, all acquired by uncommon ability as a cultivator of fruit and vegetables. My brother Aaron made all thrive under his care, but became too rich the latter part of his life to give to cultivation his exclusive attention.

Very truly your friend,

MOSES WILLIAMS.

Hon. MARSHALL P. WILDER.

[1] *Charles F. Curtis's letter*, in which he states that the receipts of apples for the season up to Jan. 29, 1881, at Boston, were over six hundred and ninety thousand barrels.

[2] [Francis S. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 136. — ED.]

bor."[1] Here Mr. Gray has offered the public fine illustrations of landscape gardening by the laying out of his beautiful grounds. From his conservatories and grounds our exhibitions have been constantly enriched with rare and costly plants, and his enterprise keeps up with the progress of the age. For the last three years he has won the $150 Silver Cup for his roses.

Roxbury, from the early part of this century, was distinguished for its greenhouses. We have mentioned those of the Lowells and others, to which we must add that of John Lemist, who was lost on the ill fated steamboat "Lexington," in 1840. This place was formerly the residence of Judge Auchmuty, Governor Increase Sumner, and Beza Tucker, and in 1824 it passed to Mr. Lemist.[2] His greenhouses and grapery, under the care of a Scotch gardener, John R. Russell, became quite noted. His collection of plants, especially camellias, gardenias, and roses, was considered as remarkable; and he often obtained one dollar or more for a cut flower of the double white camellia.

The gardens and nurseries of Samuel Walker, fifth president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, were situated in Roxbury, opposite the estate of Governor Eustis. Mr. Walker was prominent in his efforts to advance horticulture, and made his home in a garden. He was a zealous and experienced cultivator of plants and fruit-trees, bestowing great attention on the cultivation of the dahlia, tulip, and pansy. He annually gave public exhibitions of the tulip under a canvas tent erected for the purpose, and had costly varieties, such as Louis XVI. and others, valued at £10 to £15 for a single bulb. His nurseries were for many years noted for their excellence, and his fruits on exhibition were of the first-class, among which was the Mount Vernon pear, produced from seed.

On the borders of Jamaica Pond is the garden of Francis Parkman, LL. D., ex-President of the Horticultural Society, who has become almost as widely known for his experience in hybridizing plants as for his historical writings. By the process of hybridizing he obtained the *Lilium Parkmanii*, for the stock of which a florist in London made him a present of one thousand dollars.

Roxbury has been celebrated for the many varieties of fruits which have been originated within her borders. Of these may be named the famous Roxbury Russet, Williams's Favorite, and Seaver Sweet apples; the Dearborn's Seedling, Lewis, Merriam, Dana's Hovey, and Mount Vernon pears.

In Milton are numerous fine estates, which under modern horticultural skill are worthy of remembrance, — such as the summer residences of Henry P. Kidder, Francis Peabody, R. B. and J. M. Forbes, Mrs. F. Cunningham, Miss Russell, and of John W. Brooks, whose pear orchard contains six hundred trees of the Beurré d' Anjou, generally considered "the best." Nor would we omit the residence of Colonel Henry S. Russell, in

[1] *Hon Thomas C. Amory's Letter.* [2] [See Vol. II. p. 343. — Ed.]

olden time of Francis Amory, now the "Home Farm," with its world-renowned "Smuggler" breed of horses, its extensive avenues of old oaks, walnuts, elms, maples, and pines, its broad landscape and ornamental grounds.

The town of Brookline has been celebrated from an early date for the elegant residences of our opulent citizens, and for its gardens, orchards, and ornamental grounds. "Brookline was for a long time pre-eminent in the little cordon of towns which have so long constituted the exquisite environs of Boston, embossing it with rich and varied margins of lawn and lake, and meadow and wooded hill-side, and encircling its old 'plain neck,'—as Wood called it in his *New Englands Prospect*,—with an unfading wreath of bloom and verdure."[1] Here were the homes of the Amorys, the Aspinwalls, the Perkinses, Sullivans, Sargents, Lees, Gardners, Tappans; of General Theodore Lyman, Benjamin Guild, Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, John E. Thayer, and others, who have been patrons of horticultural improvement; and although the citizens of Brookline protested, in 1773, against the introduction of the leaves of the tea-plant without their consent, they have been proverbially friends of rural taste, and have done much for the adornment of their residences with other beautiful trees and plants.

In the very early part of this century the gardens and greenhouses of Colonel Thomas Handasyd Perkins were particularly distinguished. He and his brother, Samuel G. Perkins, inherited a love for fruits and flowers from their grandmother, Mrs. Edmund Perkins, who was Edna Frothingham of Charlestown. Colonel Perkins's residence in France and other foreign lands, where he had seen fine fruits and flowers, stimulated his natural taste, and induced him to purchase this estate in 1800, when he began to build his house, to lay out his grounds, and to erect greenhouses and glass structures for the cultivation of fruits and flowers; and until the establishment of the magnificent conservatories and fruit-houses of his nephew, John Perkins Cushing, at Watertown, his place was considered the most advanced in horticultural science of any in New England. For fifty years Colonel Perkins's estate was kept in the best manner by experienced foreign gardeners, and at an expense of more than ten thousand dollars annually. He frequently received trees and plants from Europe, the products of which were prominent at the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. In 1840 he introduced the Victoria Hamburg, West's St. Peter's, and Cannon Hall Muscat grape-vines, which were presented to him by Sir Joseph Paxton, gardener to the Duke of Devonshire.

Next to be named are the garden and fruit-houses of Samuel G. Perkins, which were presented to him by his brother, Colonel Perkins. The spot was selected on account of its being situated between the Colonel's and the beautiful estate at Pine Bank of James Perkins, an elder brother (and where now lives his grandson, E. N. Perkins), and as a favorable place where

[1] Mr. Winthrop's *Address at the Dedication of the New Town Hall of Brookline.*

Samuel might indulge his natural taste, and exercise the skill which he had acquired in horticultural science by residing in foreign lands, and by his acquaintance with experienced cultivators of both fruits and flowers. His fruit-houses were two hundred feet in length; in and around them were grown the choicest varieties of grapes, peaches, and plums; there the Golden Nectarine was produced by him from the stone. Mr. Perkins was the introducer from France of the Duchesse d'Angoulême pear, the Franconia raspberry, and other fruits.[1]

In Brookline is the old Aspinwall estate, the birthplace of our beloved citizen the late Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, where still remains the same old house[2] in which he and his father, Dr. William Aspinwall, were born. Here were planted by Dr. William Aspinwall extensive orchards of Baldwin and Roxbury Russet apples, and other fruits. A few trees are still remaining near the old house. So plenty were peaches that the pigs were turned into the orchard to eat up the surplus; and this ground is still called the "old peach orchard." On a portion of the Aspinwall estate, Mr. Augustus Aspinwall, a distinguished merchant and horticulturist, one of the first board of counsellors of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, devoted a part of his time to horticultural pursuits, erecting two extensive graperies. He was eminently successful as a cultivator of the rose, of which he made frequent exhibitions.

The most extensive and elegant estate in Brookline is that of the venerable Ignatius Sargent, whose success in grape culture forty years ago was so great that he exhibited bunches of the Black Hamburg grape weighing from four to six pounds. On these grounds is the beautiful cottage of his son, Professor Charles S. Sargent, on the site of the residence of the late Thomas Lee, who was thirty years ago much interested in the growth of rhododendrons, azaleas, and other plants. Under the supervision of Professor Sargent, this place, with its magnificent landscape, its conservatories of plants, and its extensive collection of conifers, rhododendrons, and azaleas, is every year thrown open to the public. With its extensive and rare collection of native and foreign trees and shrubs, and its wide and grand embrace of one hundred acres in extent, this estate is one of great interest for the study of landscape and ornamental culture.

General Lyman, to whom we have alluded, expended in 1842 large sums of money in the erection of his house, of which Richard Upjohn was the architect. He improved the premises by grading the lawn, planting trees, and building graperies; all of which have been further improved by

[3] *Letter of Augustus T. Perkins.* "He attended personally to the pruning and cultivation of his trees; and his success was greater than that of his brother. He usually wore a button-hole bouquet in the lapel of his coat, and was fond of surprising his brother with superior fruits. One day he came with a basket of gorgeous grapes, peaches, and apricots, and said: 'Brother Tom, I know you love fine fruit; and fearing you do not often get it, I have brought you something worth having.' — 'Thank you, Brother Sam; I try to be contented with what I have; and I certainly should be, if you were not always bursting in and giving me something that makes me envy you.'"

[2] [See Vol. I. p. 221. — ED.]

his worthy son, Colonel Theodore, who still resides there, and whose son of the same name, a promising lad, we hope may live to perpetuate the memory of Theodore Lyman. Here remain some of the grand old trees planted by the father of our venerable citizen Jonathan Mason, who still lives at the advanced age of nearly ninety years. General Lyman was a patron of horticulture, agriculture, and moral reform.[1] He gave ten thousand dollars to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

In Brookline, also, is the elegant villa, with its splendid avenues and grounds, of the late John Eliot Thayer, left by him to Mrs. Thayer, now Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, where a most generous hospitality and cordial welcome are extended by Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop to their numerous friends both of our own and foreign lands.

Here, also, are the fine estate and extensive glass structures of John Lowell Gardner, to whom we have referred already, by whose liberality for a long course of years the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society have been graced and enriched by elegant plants and products from the hands of his experienced gardener, Mr. Atkinson. Mr. Gardner's mother was sister to the Hon. John Lowell, and he inherits the same taste for rural life and culture for which Mr. Lowell was so well known. His father, as we have seen, also possessed like tastes when he lived in Summer Street, where foreign grapes and pears were grown in open air. The Saint Germain pear was very large; and of the Brown Beurré Mr. Gardner says, "I have never seen finer specimens."

The elegant estate of the Hon. Amos A. Lawrence, at Longwood, was once the farm of Judge Sewall, on which there are relics of pear culture. One of the trees, a very large one, was destroyed by a gale several years ago. The largest which remains, though with lessened proportions, now measures, at six inches above the ground, nine feet two inches in circumference. Thirty years ago it bore what is called the Button pear, but has since been regrafted with another variety. Judge Sewall, in his diary between 1680 and 1700, mentions grafting some pear-trees at his house in Boston with "Button pears." The grafts were probably taken from this tree.[2]

Cambridge was celebrated for her gardens and the ornamental culture of her grounds even before the beginning of this present century. "At the close of the Revolution, Andrew Craigie purchased the Washington headquarters, enlarged the house,[3] and laid out the grounds in the taste of that period. On the western side of the mansion, the tall hedges and clumps of lilacs are all that remain of this early garden. Mr. Craigie had a greenhouse on the grounds, where the dormitory of the Episcopal Seminary now stands. This structure was burned about 1840. He also had an ice-house, an almost unknown luxury in those days. Some people thought

[1] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter on "Boston under the Mayors," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] *The Hon. Amos A. Lawrence's Letter.*

[3] [See a view of it in Vol. III. — Ed.]

a judgment would befall one who would thus attempt to thwart the designs of Providence by raising flowers under glass in winter, and keeping ice under ground to cool the heat of summer; which now seem to have been the forerunners of two great institutions in Cambridge, — ice in summer, and flowers in winter."

Thomas Brattle, of whom mention is elsewhere made,[1] returning from exile in 1784, took possession of his patrimony, the house which now bears his name, and began to improve his grounds according to the taste of a century ago; and from that time until his death, in 1801, his garden, possessing a profusion of fruits and flowers, was the boast of Cambridge. His house was built by his father in 1742, when was planted, probably, the square of English lindens which so long formed a green canopy around it, but which have all fallen, the last one disappearing about fifteen years ago. Mr. Brattle, with a native taste for horticulture, and with observation of foreign lands, no doubt laid out his grounds in the latest styles of Europe, having a spring of pure water, a marble grotto, a pond for gold-fish, and a parterre for aquatic plants on a lower level, where the University Press now stands. His lawn was so velvet-like that it was said it could only be improved by combing it with a fine-tooth comb.

The most remarkable fruit garden in Cambridge during the last century was that of Bosenger Foster, who lived on the estate occupied by the late venerable and worthy Samuel Batchelder, who died a few years ago at the age of ninety-two. This estate is now occupied by Mr. Thomas P. James and his accomplished wife, the daughter of Mr. Batchelder. The garden is still partially enclosed by a brick wall, which has been a landmark on Brattle Street for the last one hundred and fifty years. Here was probably the first extensive collection of pear-trees in a region now famous for its fine fruits. Mr. Foster imported the most celebrated French pears, some trees of which attained great size; a few of them, with a most beautiful black mulberry-tree, ornament the place and still bear fruit. Here are still large hawthorn-trees which it is believed were planted by the Vassalls in 1730, and which still produce a profusion of white blossoms, and are a harbor for winter birds, who feed on the ripe haws.[2]

Cambridge has been conspicuous for the culture of fruits, especially of the pear and plum, as the exhibitions of the last fifty years have shown. Here were the experimental grounds and nurseries of Samuel Pond, Henry Vandine, and numerous gardens of fruit-trees. It has also possessed the most extensive nurseries and plant-houses of any place in New England. Here Mr. P. B. Hovey, with his brother Charles M. Hovey, established more than forty years ago, upon a piece of wild woodland, the famous nursery of Hovey & Co., for the sale of trees and plants; and here, under the supervision and direction of the latter gentleman, associated with their sons in the profession, he has supervised and carried on the raising and testing of fruits, the producing of seeds, and the hybridization and acquisition of plants, which

[1] [See Vol. III. p. 110. — Ed.]

[2] *Letter of Mrs. Isabella James.*

have given him and his brother a wide reputation as horticulturists both at home and in foreign lands. Mr. Hovey's love of nature and his ambitious and enterprising disposition have inspired him to prove under his own personal inspection everything in the way of horticulture that seemed desirable. In the department of pomology there have been fruited and proved on these grounds more than fifteen hundred varieties of fruits; and from them there was exhibited, on a single occasion, three hundred varieties of pears. Here were raised, by the crossing of the strawberry, the Boston Pine and Hovey's Seedling strawberry, — the last named being still, after almost fifty years of trial, one of our finest varieties in cultivation.

Their collection of plants contains grand old specimens, which are the result of many years of patience and toil. Some of the Chinese and other palms are fifty years old and twelve feet high. Here was early begun the hybridization of plants, by which have been produced some of the most remarkable camellias of which our country can boast, — such as the Mrs. Anne Marie Hovey, Charles M. Hovey, Charles H. Hovey, and others, for some of which they received the gold medal of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and also a first-class certificate by the London Horticultural Society. Many of these Mr. C. M. Hovey exhibited in London in person. The camellia-house of Hovey & Co. is one hundred feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty-five feet high, and it contains some of the largest camellias in the country, all planted in the ground. Here are twenty other houses for the growth of plants.

The collection of Hovey & Co. contains hundreds of species and varieties of ornamental trees and shrubs, among which are remarkable specimens of elegant and curious trees, worthy of the long life which it has taken to produce them. Mr. C. M. Hovey was for four years president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and the editor of the *Magazine of Horticulture* for thirty-four years, — the whole period of its existence. These volumes contain a vast amount of horticultural and kindred matter, and as books of reference are of very great value to all lovers of the art. Triumphing over all obstacles, and working with a zeal that never tires, he still lives to promote the great cause to which he has devoted his life.

The city of Newton, with her eight villages, and with a numerous population of active business people, has made, perhaps, as great advances in horticultural science as any other area of the same size around Boston. Here are numerous beautiful residences, with highly cultivated gardens, orchards, and well kept grounds; and just beyond, in Natick, where the Apostle Eliot planted his apple-trees, are cultivators of the rose, whose sales amount to thousands of dollars annually.

Newton and Brighton have been noted for their cultivation of fruits, trees, and plants for nearly a hundred years. The first nursery of any considerable note in New England was begun by John Kenrick, of Newton, in 1790, by the raising of peach-trees from the stone, to which he

added in a few years the apple, cherry, and other fruit-trees. In 1797 he began a nursery of ornamental trees, two acres of which were planted with the Lombardy poplar, then a most esteemed, but now despised, tree. His nurseries became the most extensive in New England. In 1823 Mr. Kenrick took his elder son, William, into partnership, and continued the business until his death in 1833. Peaches and currants were here extensively cultivated; and there were made in 1826 three thousand and six hundred gallons of currant wine. William Kenrick's nursery at Nonantum Hill, in Newton, established in 1823, continued for twenty-seven years; and for a part of this time he imported and sold more fruit-trees than any other nursery-man in New England. John A. Kenrick, brother of William, also pursued the nursery business on the old estate until his death in 1870.[1] William Kenrick was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, a zealous, enterprising citizen, the author of the *New American Orchardist*, and a public writer. He entered largely into the *Morus Multicaulis* speculation, propagating hundreds of thousands of this tree both on his own grounds and other land which he had taken up in the South.

James Hyde established a small nursery of fruit-trees about the year 1800, when he was eighteen years old. This was enlarged from time to time; and in 1842 our respected friend, James F. C. Hyde, since President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, became a partner with his father, and for many years carried on the business with success. To this day he possesses the same love of rural life and interest in fruits and flowers, especially in testing by personal experience the new varieties which come to his notice, and in writing of them for the press.

In Brighton there was a nursery established in 1816 by Jonathan Winship, also a founder of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. In 1826 he associated with him his brother Francis, and carried on the general nursery business on an extensive scale for many years. They also had greenhouses for the propagation of plants, being among the earliest growers of ornamental trees and plants for sale. They furnished the city of Boston largely for planting its Common and streets; also other cities, and many of the cemeteries, having at that time the largest collection in this section of the country; and they were among the first to send cut flowers to the Boston markets for sale. To their collection Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin made valuable donations which he gathered in Europe.[2]

The nursery and plant business was in later years carried on in Brighton by Joseph Breck and James L. L. F. Warren, and now by William C. Strong and Charles H. B. Breck & Sons. Forty years since Mr. Warren was largely interested in the cultivation of ornamental and greenhouse plants, and had public exhibitions of the tulip and other bulbous plants. Having possessed himself of the stock of the Camellias Wilderi and the

[1] *History of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society*, pp. 33, 34.

[2] *Letter of Lyman F. Winship.* [See also the chapter on "Brighton," in Vol. III. — Ed.]

Mrs. Abby Wilder, he propagated them largely, and went to Europe with them, where he made considerable sales. Mr. Warren is now in California, and has been editor of the *California Farmer* for thirty years.

Joseph Breck, afterward president and one of the original members of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, had grounds in Brighton for the cultivation of ornamental plants and the production of seeds; and his name is still continued in the firm of Joseph Breck & Sons, the oldest seed-house in New England, it having existed more than fifty years, succeeding that of John B. Russell, the only survivor of the original corporators of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Mr. Breck was one of the foremost promoters of the culture of fruits and flowers, and wrote frequently for the press. He was proprietor, and for some years the editor, of the *Horticultural Register*, which passed through several volumes; and he also produced other works. His *Book of Flowers* has passed through many editions, and has a very wide circulation.

The nurseries and plant-houses of William C. Strong, ex-President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, are worthy of special notice for the enterprise and intelligence of their proprietor. Here, under one continuous roof of glass of eighteen thousand square feet, is an enclosure where plants are grown as in the open ground; where immense quantities of the rose and other flowers are daily cut for the market. The estate of Mr. Strong, about forty years ago, was possessed by Horace Gray, of whom we have spoken in connection with the establishment of the Public Garden in Boston. He erected on these grounds the largest grape-houses then known in the United States, in which were grown extensively numerous varieties of foreign grapes. For the testing of these under glass, in cold houses, Mr. Gray erected a large curvilinear-roof house, two hundred feet long by twenty-four wide. This was such a great success that he built two more of the same dimensions.

In addition to these, Brighton, in the early part of this century, was the residence of several celebrated agriculturists and horticulturists. Here were the orchards of Gorham Parsons, who also had others at Byfield; of S. W. Pomroy, Mr. Faneuil, Samuel Brooks, and others; and here for many years were held with great success the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, under the patronage and supervision of such leaders as John Lowell, John Welles, Peter C. Brooks, General Dearborn, Josiah Quincy, John Prince, and the gentlemen above named.

We owe to a Boston banker one splendid illustration of the wonderful progress of horticultural improvement, as shown in an estate in Wellesley, which may, without detraction from any other, be placed at the head of all others in New England, if not in our country. This is the property of Mr. H. Hollis Hunnewell, comprising in all, with its fields and forests, about five hundred acres, on which he began his operations about thirty years ago. The ornamental part contains about forty acres, from which

he cleared the wild growth of scrub-oaks, pitch-pines, and other worthless trees and shrubs before he began work upon it. He then laid out his splendid avenues and plots, and undertook the planting of his most interesting and instructive collection of hardy trees and plants, natives not only of our own country, but also such of California, Japan, and other lands as would endure our climate.[1]

The avenues to this estate are planted on either side with most beautiful pines, spruces, beeches, maples, magnolias, and other trees, intermixed here and there with the rarest and costliest conifers, rhododendrons, azaleas, and other flowering shrubs, — all of which have grown up within the last thirty years. Its meandering walks, also planted on either side with the rarest and newest conifer and other evergreens; its various vistas giving here and there delightful views, — are most charming. The magnificent velvet lawn in front of his house, the lovely Lake Waban in the rear, the Italian Garden, the parapets, balustrades, statues, and vases, with the clipped trees of various forms, lead one to suppose, as Mr. Henry W. Sargent says, "that we are on the Lake of Como." Here are fruit and vegetable gardens enclosed with ornamental hedges; a conservatory attached to the house; six plant-houses, and six fruit-houses; and numerous and varied illustrations of ornamental beds of flowers.[2]

Nor must we omit some record of the famous Ridge Hill Farm of William E. Baker, containing eight hundred and fifty acres, with its ten miles of avenues, its artificial lake one and a half miles in circumference, its grotto underground one fourth of a mile in length, and several greenhouses; everywhere affording, under the care of his gardener, Mr. Greaves, illustrations of the artistic bedding of plants.

And just across the water, opposite Mr. Hunnewell's, is the fine country-seat of Benjamin Pierce Cheney, whose love of horticulture and the Fine Arts induced him to contribute the grand statue of Ceres which crowns the temple of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, — Mr. Hunnewell and Mr. Charles O. Whitmore at the same time, also, presenting the statues of Flora and Pomona which adorn the corners of this building.

[1] His collection of rhododendrons and azaleas, the largest in our country, embraces many thousands of plants, to which he is constantly adding everything new and rare, demonstrating, beyond doubt, that a very large number of varieties grown in Europe may be successfully cultivated with us. Of such as are somewhat tender he has the choicest varieties, which he stores in cool pits in the winter, planting them out in the spring under an immense canvas tent of seven thousand square feet. The whole of his magnificent estate is opened to the public, once a week, gratuitously. A few years since he made, in the name of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, an exhibition of hundreds of these under an immense tent on Boston Common. The exhibition lasted for several weeks, and was visited by throngs of gratified spectators; and the income from it was generously given to constitute a fund for the Society, to be used in encouraging the growth of these plants.

[2] The whole, for twenty-seven years, has been under the charge of Mr. F. L. Harris, his gardener, and constitutes a place unsurpassed in this country for the acquisition of everything new or old in horticulture to please the eye, charm the senses, or gratify the taste; and affording also, with the contributions and benefactions of Mr. Hunnewell to the Horticultural Society, a noble illustration of his love of the objects which he has sought to promote, and which, by his untiring interest and personal attention, have been brought to the highest perfection.

Watertown and Waltham have been celebrated for the residences of wealthy citizens of Boston, as far back as the last century. Belmont, at Watertown, formerly the residence of John Perkins Cushing, now the home of Samuel R. Payson, has been and is still one of the most celebrated places in New England, if not in the United States, for its horticultural taste and improvement, having been thoroughly kept up for more than half a century. Here, for the last fifteen years, Mr. Payson has indulged his natural taste in the pleasures of rural life, by the acquisition and cultivation of the most beautiful fruits and flowers of the age.[1]

Mr. Cushing was a great lover of the works of Nature; and with lavish expenditures he improved this estate, in the highest sense of the word, by the laying out of the grounds and by the erection of numerous plant and fruit houses. He contributed largely to the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and opened his grounds once a week to the public in the summer season, making his place the most famous at that time for horticultural progress in New England.

The present estate of Mr. Payson embraces about two hundred acres, and its fine avenues bordered with old oaks, walnuts, and tulip-trees (one of the last is eighty feet in height), with other ornamental trees, rhododendrons, azaleas, and different shrubs, make it one of great interest. Here is a large conservatory, sixty feet wide, with fourteen other houses devoted to the cultivation of certain classes of plants, fruits, and vegetables. Among these houses may be named a large greenhouse, two pelargonium, two orchid, one palm, one azalea house, with several others devoted to grapes, peaches, nectarines, figs, and vegetables.

The lawn on the south of the house is magnificent, containing about twenty acres, on and around which are some of the finest purple beeches in the land. On these premises are several gnarled old oaks and a deciduous cypress of great age, and also a park well stocked with deer.

Opposite Mr. Payson's is the handsome old place of William Pratt, which has for a long course of years been kept in fine condition by his heirs, under the supervision of his son, George W. Pratt, one of the early vice-presidents of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and since his death Miss Mary Pratt, who still lives, at an advanced age, preserves its former reputation with good taste and enterprise. The conservatory of choice plants, the graperies, peach-house, the orchard and garden, are perpetuated from year to year in excellent order.

Near by is the elegant villa and estate of the late Alvin Adams, the founder of the great Adams Express Company. Extensive lawns and

[1] This estate some sixty years ago was the residence of Eben Preble, an old merchant of Boston, and brother of Commodore Preble. He built the brick walls still enclosing the grounds in which the present conservatories and other glass structures are located. Mr. Preble in 1805 imported into Boston one hundred and fifty varieties of fruit-trees; and so great has been the improvement in our fruits that only two of the varieties are now considered valuable. This estate passed to Nathaniel Amory, who married the daughter of Mr. Preble, in 1808; thence to R. D. Shephard about 1830; in a few years to Mr. Cushing; and after his death, about 1860, to Mr. Payson, by whose personal attention everything is kept with fine taste.

ornamental grounds, together with a valuable picture-gallery, have made this place one of the most attractive in the vicinity of Boston, where the generous hospitality of its proprietor was abundantly dispensed, as it is now by his heirs.

The orchards and gardens on this side of our city were noted a long time ago for their extent and the excellence of their fruit. Here was the home of Josiah Stickney, ex-President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, where his heirs still reside. Although a merchant in active business, he found time to plant an extensive pear orchard and a garden, from which, under his personal care, he brought forth some of the finest fruits which have been on exhibition. Before his removal from Boston, his love of flowers led him to establish a small garden on Tremont Street, north of the Masonic Temple, where, forty years ago, he cultivated the dahlia extensively, frequently carrying off prizes for the excellence of his specimens.[1]

In Waltham was the splendid estate of Governor Christopher Gore, which was considered in former times as among the most elegant in our vicinity. The Governor while residing in England, as commissioner for the adjustment of claims under the Jay Treaty, evidently imbibed a taste for the life of a country gentleman, and acquired a knowledge of the then accepted style of building and landscape gardening. His house and grounds were arranged strictly on the English model. The estate comprised several hundred acres, in the middle of which was what was called the "Home Field," where stood the mansion. The drawing-room was furnished in the gay and graceful fashion of Louis XVI.; the other rooms, with substantial rich mahogany, much of it of the old ante-Revolutionary type. A straight avenue, shaded by double rows of trees, conducted the visitor to this stately abode. Shady walks radiated from the house to the east and west, secluding it upon all sides, except that one opening permitted a view of the river a half-mile across the lawn, and of the fields beyond it. The trees which bordered the avenues and walks and ornamented the grounds were tastefully grouped, occasionally converting the walks into Gothic aisles, one of which formed a vista opposite the east window of the library.[2]

This place on the death of Governor Gore passed into the hands of William Payne, then to General Theodore Lyman, and on the latter's removal to Brookline, to Copley Greene. Now it is distinguished for numer-

[1] Desirous of promoting the cause of horticulture, he made a bequest of his estate at Watertown to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society for an experimental garden; but afterward he revoked this gift, and gave the sum of twelve thousand dollars to the society, the income of which was to be devoted for thirty years for the purchase of books for its library, then to be transferred to the Lawrence Scientific School at Cambridge.

[2] The tradition is that the Governor and Mrs. Gore planted many of these trees with their own hands. The Governor was fond of agricultural pursuits, and was an ardent amateur farmer, having, in addition to his fruit, flower, and vegetable garden, extensive fields, under cultivation, and a large group of barns and farm buildings. From this elegant mansion might be seen the Governor taking an airing in his orange-colored coach, with coachman, footman, and outriders all in livery, and with a stateliness quite in keeping with his fine place. — *Letter of Colonel Henry Lee.* Of this place Fisher Ames wrote: "I do not expect to build a smarter."

ous glass structures for the growth of fruits, flowers, and vegetables, and for the excellent condition in which its grounds and their appurtenances are kept by its present owner, Mr. T. W. Walker. Waltham was much developed by the enterprise of Messrs. Lowell and Patrick Jackson. There also Dr. James Jackson had a lovely place, and Judge Jackson for a few years held the Gore place by lease.

Another place is especially worthy of notice in Waltham. "Lyman Place," the home of Theodore Lyman, one of Boston's best known merchants, where he and his eldest son, George W. Lyman, lived from 1795 until their deaths, — the latter having died Sept. 24, 1880, aged ninety-three years, ten months, — was bought in 1793, and the mansion-house erected in 1795. The first greenhouse was built about 1800 and divided into two parts, in which were raised pineapples, bananas, and other tropical fruits, and among the ornamental plants the Yellow Mimosa (acacia), which was then considered very elegant. Mr. Lyman brought over a celebrated English gardener by the name of Bell. He began by laying out and grading the grounds, which took several seasons to finish, but when completed they were in their time the finest illustration in the country of modern landscape gardening; "bearing witness," says Mr. Henry W. Sargent, "to a refined and elegant taste in rural improvement. Its fine level park, a mile in length, was enriched with groups of English limes, elms, and oaks; and masses of native wood, watered by a fine stream and stocked with deer, were the leading features of the place at that time. The oldest of these trees were set out early in this century, and are still in a healthful condition." "The peculiar thing," says Colonel Theodore Lyman, his grandson, "is that my grandfather, son of a poor country clergyman in Old York, and compelled to work hard from boyhood, should have had the tastes of a refined man of leisure in a matter of landscape gardening. Considering the immense difficulty of doing such a thing in those days, there is nobody near Boston now who is doing as much as he did." [1]

Charlestown in the early part of this century was distinguished for its good gardens and fine fruits. Here was the fine fruit garden belonging to the estate of Nathan Tufts, now occupied by the Rev. Dr. Lambert, rector of St. John's Church. Another fine residence was that of Eben Breed, now the site of Mount Vernon Street, with garden, greenhouse, and a small orchard. Among the finest places on the peninsula about the year 1800 was that of the Hon. Samuel Dexter, which afterward passed to Matthew Bridge and H. Davidson, and is now owned by Rhodes Lockwood, who occupies a part of it; it had a fine garden of fruit and ornamental trees, grape-vines, and a greenhouse. On this estate are now the handsome grounds of the Hon. T. T. Sawyer and the Hon. Edward Lawrence. The father of the Hon. George Washington Warren had a large garden of fruit-trees and plants. John Hurd and William Hurd had good gardens. Mr.

[1] *Letters of George W. Lyman and Colonel Theodore Lyman.*

James Hunnewell had a fine estate, now occupied by his son, our esteemed citizen James F. Hunnewell. This estate still retains its former size, with many of the original trees and plants.[1]

Among other gardens was that of the Hon. Charles Thompson, whose father was an experienced cultivator of fruits. It is still among the largest and best in the town. The Navy Yard has a large garden for fruits and flowers. The grounds of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict were once extensive in their orchards and shade-trees. In Charlestown, also, was the "Vineyard," under the care of David Haggerston, one of the pioneers of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and afterward the gardener of John P. Cushing at Watertown. This garden was an experimental one, and devoted almost exclusively to the testing of foreign varieties of the grape in open ground, and other small fruits; and here was first introduced from Europe the famous Keen's Seedling strawberry. Here was a greenhouse containing a fine collection of the camellia, where the writer saw this elegant plant in bloom for the first time in his life. Another garden devoted to the cultivation of fruits and flowers was that of Samuel R. Johnson, who forty years ago was one of the most successful cultivators and exhibitors of fruits and flowers.

There have been many other fine gardens in Charlestown, but most of those of which we have spoken have been built upon. Outside of the peninsula was the estate of Joseph Barrell, on the present site of the McLean Asylum, which was one of the most distinguished in our region.[2] It had large gardens and greenhouses, which cost about fifty thousand dollars, and in those days was called a "show-place." It was named Pleasant Hill, and is probably identical with Poplar Grove.

Horticulture had a cordial reception in the early days of Medford, even back as far as the building of the house of Matthew Cradock. The Royall house, once occupied by Colonel Isaac Royall, though not so old, stood in the midst of grounds laid out in elegant taste, and embellished with fruit trees and shrubbery, walks bordered with box, and a summer-house surmounted by a cupola and a statue of Mercury.[3] This estate was purchased in 1810 by Jacob Tidd, who afterward removed to West Roxbury, and exhibited at the rooms of the Horticultural Society the Horatio (or Nice) grape, weighing over six pounds to the bunch. Mr. Royall died in 1739, leaving the property to his son Isaac; and by the name of Royall it is still known. There were many fine estates in Medford in our own day. Such were those of Timothy Bigelow, Peter C. Brooks, Thatcher Magoun,

[1] Mr. James Hunnewell was an enterprising and intelligent merchant; he visited the Sandwich Islands three times during his life, spending several years there, and established there in 1826 the mercantile house which still exists; and which, though it has passed through several hands since, has still a good standing, and is, we believe, one of the oldest American houses, if not the senior, existing on the Islands. *Mr. J. F. Hunnewell's Letter.*

[2] Drake's *History of Middlesex County*, p. 177.

[3] Ibid., ii. 165. See further on this estate in Vol. III. of the present work, p. 105.

and others, who were interested in horticultural pursuits and had good gardens and greenhouses.

West Cambridge, Arlington, Lexington, Concord, Wilmington, Winchester, Woburn, Reading, Revere, and other towns in our vicinity have been prominent in promoting the science of horticulture during the present century; and from them we have derived not only fine fruits and flowers, but the choicest vegetables which are to be seen in any market of the world. From Wilmington came the world-renowned Baldwin apple, which constitutes the largest portion of the apples exported from our market, filling more than three fourths of the six hundred thousand barrels that are sent annually abroad.[1]

From Concord come some of the finest roses, strawberries, grapes, and vegetables which grace our exhibitions; but if it had produced nothing else but the Concord grape, its name, and that of Mr. Ephraim W. Bull, would have been remembered with gratitude.

One of the most conspicuous and extensive places as regards horticultural improvement and landscape gardening, and interesting also for its historic associations, is that at Lexington, of the Hon. Francis B. Hayes, President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; and did our space permit us to describe the more distant tributaries of the metropolis, we could tell the story of his fine estate with its conservatories, fruits, and flowers, and how his acres have expanded, during these last nineteen years, from the thirteen acres of the original purchase till it now includes between four and five hundred, covering the rights conveyed by forty-nine deeds.

If our space again permitted us to extend our observation we should not neglect Salem, where the tomato was first introduced; where Robert Manning's Pomological Garden did much for the pomology of New England as early as 1823;[2] where John Fisk Allen, in 1854, produced the earl-

[1] The history of this apple is as follows: * —

WOBURN, Sept. 28, 1880.

DEAR SIR, — Your note of the 26th inst. was received, asking me to give you the account which my grandfather, Samuel Thompson, Esq., gave me of the Baldwin apple. In reply I will say he was a surveyor of land, and while he was on duty one fall day in a pasture in the town of Wilmington, near a road called Butters Row Road, he came across a tree with fine looking apples thereon. The tree was hollow with decay, and a woodpecker found a place for her nest therein. He said he carried home some of the fruit and gave his brother Abijah some of it, and they were so highly pleased with it that they procured a lot of scions from the tree and set them in the trees around their homes, and they soon began to yield fruit; and they gave some to Colonel Baldwin, their neighbor, and he valued them so highly he went into them deeply and spread them around among his friends broadcast, and they had no name for them, and of course they gave them his name. While they were in the Thompsons' hands they were called Pecker apples, after the old bird. The tree stood in Wilmington, near Butters Row Road.

LEONARD THOMPSON,
92 years, 4 months.

MR. CYRUS WOODMAN.

Of the Baldwin apple, Deacon Thomas Griggs of Brookline, now in his ninety-fourth year, writes: "Seventy years ago I employed a man by the name of Tufts, to graft. He came from Woburn and brought scions called the Pecker apple. He said Mr. Baldwin, when surveying for the canal, found a tree on the edge of the wood, which was almost killed by woodpeckers, but had on it a very few nice red apples. From this tree he cut scions, and from it sprang the Baldwin apple."

[2] The most important public benefit conferred on the Pomology of New England, if not of our whole country, was the establishment of this Pomological Garden in Salem. It was for testing fruits, both native and foreign, and ascer-

* *Letter of Colonel Leonard Thompson to Mr. Cyrus Woodman.* [See note to Mr. Adams's chapter in this volume. Brooks's *Medford*, p. 19, places the tree in that town, near the Woburn line. See also Ellis's *Count Rumford*, pp. 375-77. — ED.]

iest hybridized American grape, an experiment abundantly exemplified later by Edward S. Rogers; and where Joseph Sebastian Cabot possessed six hundred varieties of the tulip. Nor should we forget Lynn, and the Breeds, with their enterprising spirit.

Coming nearer on the North Shore, among the most remarkable instances of success in combating with our northern climate were the efforts of the late Frederic Tudor, at Nahant. Here he began a large garden on a spot without a tree or shrub, and by enclosing it with high double-pale fences to break the wind, he succeeded in producing many fine fruits. In the year 1849 he exhibited a basket of Louis Bonne of Jersey pears, one of which measured over ten inches in circumference, and weighed thirteen and three fourths ounces. The trees and vines of this garden, which the writer visited a few years since, were then in a healthful and productive condition. Mr. Tudor attached to the pears of which we have spoken the following note: "The whole circumference of ten fruits in this basket is eight feet, one and a half inches; weight of the same, — seven pounds, four and three fourths ounces; the tree, a dwarf, bore ninety-five fruits."

Going a little further inland to the west we find Dedham, in former days noted for many fine residences, among which were those of Fisher Ames and Edward Dowse, both of whom were much interested in horticulture, and who planted some of the beautiful elms and other trees which adorn her streets. They had orchards and gardens and ice houses, which were considered rare luxuries in those days. The estate of Mr. Dowse, by the will of his widow, became the property of her nephew, Josiah Quincy; who gave it to his youngest son, the late Edmund Quincy; who bequeathed it to his second son, Dr. Henry P. Quincy, and to his daughter Mary, who now live there.

Among others who have been engaged in the promotion of horticulture may be named Edward M. Richards, Ebenezer Wight, and Edward S. Rand, Jr., all of whom held the office of recording secretary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Dr. Wight was one of the most eminent cultivators of the apple, proving under his own observation the numerous varieties as they came to notice, and distributing scions of the same to all applicants. Edward S. Rand, Sr., promoted the advancement of horticulture by the adornment of his beautiful estate, and by his excellent collection of greenhouse and orchid plants of which we have spoken before.

taining what were adapted to our own climate. Mr. Manning opened a correspondence with the celebrated Dr. Van Mons of Belgium, with Robert Thompson, the head of the Fruit Department in the garden of the Horticultural Society of London, and with others in Europe and our own country. From these various sources he received trees and scions to carry on his work. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, prosecuting his labors with great enterprise and zeal till the time of his death, in 1842, when the collection of fruits, of which he had personal observation, amounted to more than eighteen hundred varieties. He also established a nursery, and dispensed trees and scions of such as he could recommend to our own and other lands. He was a most careful observer; and to him more than to all others in our country in his day we are indebted for the introduction of new and choice fruits, for the identification of the different varieties, the testing of their qualities, and for their correct nomenclature. His son Robert and two sisters still live on the homestead

His son Edward possessed grounds and houses for the culture of fruits and flowers, which with his collection of orchids, and his contributions to our exhibitions, were of a notable character. The efforts of Colonel Eliphalet Stone for more than thirty years in promoting the culture of fruits, both by his nurseries and orchards, are still continued, with the love of younger years; and he dispenses now, as ever, the results of his careful experience for the benefit of the public. Dedham was the home of the Norfolk Agricultural Society, whose presidency for the first twenty years was vested in the writer, and which greatly promoted by its exhibitions the horticulture of our vicinity.

Turning to the South Shore for a hasty glance, we find that in Braintree, including what is now Quincy, some of the early occupants introduced orchards and gardens. Among these — besides the Adamses, Hancocks, and William Coddington — was the first comer of the distinguished Quincy family, Edmund Quincy. His estate originally consisted of a thousand acres. He died in 1636, at the age of thirty-three, just after he had built a house on what is now Mount Wollaston. His son of the same name, who died in 1697, inherited the estate, and planted an orchard, of which some apple-trees still remain. Judge Edmund Quincy, its next owner, dying in London, the property came to his son, Colonel Josiah Quincy, who about the year 1770 had upon it gardens and orchards, with a rich collection of French pears, and a fine lime-tree which has come down to our time. The son of the Colonel, the eminent Patriot known as Josiah Quincy, Jr., dying in early manhood, left an only son, the late honored Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, and President of Harvard University, to whom his grandfather, dying in 1784, bequeathed the estate. The president, who lived to a venerable age, devoted intervals during his public life and his retirement from it to the care, adornment, and enrichment of the three hundred and fifty acres which came to his possession. He was fond of natural beauty and of agricultural improvements, and laid out his grounds with much taste. He planted in 1790 an avenue, a third of a mile in length, of six rows of elms and two of ash-trees, still thriving, besides more than a mile and a half of hedge.[1] When President Quincy was in Congress, in 1809, he obtained from an English gardener, Mayn, established at Georgetown, D. C., plants of the American hedge-thorn (*Buckthorn*), which he set double in his avenue for a third of a mile. After flourishing many years, this hedge was eradicated in 1850. Mr. Quincy also obtained from Mayn the Burgundy, York, and Lancaster roses, the *Bignonia Radicans*, then rare in this vicinity, and other plants. He found his attempts to introduce here the principles of English agriculture very troublesome and costly. He continued his interest in fruit, and when past his fourscore years, called on the writer to purchase trees of the Winter Nelis pear. On being told that it was a slender and slow grower, he replied: "That is of little consequence to such young fellows as myself." He had a fine herd on his farm, and wrote one

[1] *Miss Eliza S. Quincy's Letter.*

of the best treatises on the *Soiling of Cattle*, which was published at the request of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. In 1849 and 1852 it was revised by Mr. Quincy, and was republished in the *Transactions* of the Norfolk Agricultural Society, of which he was a member, and it was reported upon again, in 1860, in Flint's *State Agricultural Report*. Mr. Quincy was fond of every improvement, and had one of the first mowing-machines introduced into New England. He died, July 1, 1864, in his ninety-third year, in the house and apartment of his grandfather, Colonel Josiah Quincy, leaving to his daughter, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, and to two of her sisters, life-estates in his house and grounds around it, where they now live. To his eldest son, the present Hon. Josiah Quincy, he bequeathed his farm, with a house erected in 1850, who also carried it on for a few years, and where, in 1881, he lives in a green old age, with his children and grandchildren around him.

We cannot close this chapter without recognizing with gratitude the efforts of the men who laid the foundations of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, of the American Pomological Society, and particularly of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

Fifty years ago the supply of fruits in our market, excepting apples, was limited to a few varieties and to a few weeks of use; now our markets abound with fruits for all seasons of the year. Then almost the only strawberry in our market was the wild strawberry of the field, and that limited to a short season; now we have in variety this delicious fruit, by the facilities of transportation, for two or three months, receiving from the South in a single day five thousand bushels, and from our own town of Dighton ten thousand bushels in a year. Then not a single hybridized fruit of the strawberry had been produced, so far as we know, in our land; now so great has been the increase that my register contains the names of nearly four hundred kinds of strawberries which have been under cultivation in my day. Then there were no American grapes cultivated in our gardens except here and there a vine of the Catawba and Isabella; now there are more than a hundred varieties of American grapes in cultivation. Then the cultivation of the pear was limited to a few varieties; now we have in our collection more than eight hundred varieties of this noble fruit. Then no exports of fruit of any note had been made; now Boston itself has shipped over six hundred thousand barrels of apples in a year, and the export of fruits from this country alone has amounted to nearly three millions of dollars in a year.

Marshall P. Wilder

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHARITIES OF BOSTON AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DISTRESSED OF OTHER PARTS.

BY GEORGE SILSBEE HALE.

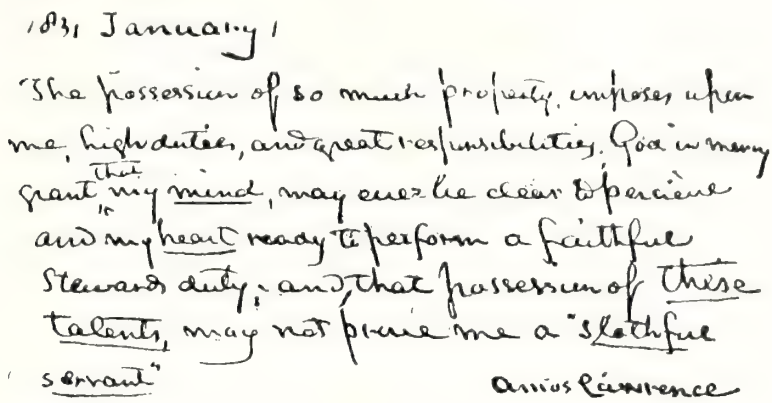
"There is a City in the World where every House hath a Box hanging in a Chain, on which is Written, *Think on the Poor.*" — *Bonifacius, or Essays to do Good*, by Cotton Mather, Boston, 1710, p. 145.[1]

THE charities of Boston cannot be adequately described or recorded in the space here allotted to the subject. The beneficence, public and private, which has filled and adorned more than two centuries of municipal existence; which has sent warmth, life, and healing to every quarter of the globe, among strangers and kindred, enemies and friends, — must yield a large part of the space which might be well employed for its story to histories of wars with savages, persecutions of fanatics, and resistance to misgovernment. It is not possible, indeed, to tell this story with completeness. It is possible to enumerate the societies, institutions, and foundations which have successively sprung up for religious, educational, and charitable purposes and to meet varied forms of weakness, want, and suffering in a community constantly increasing in numbers and wealth. It is possible to add up the figures which express part of the wealth which has been freely scattered or liberally accumulated to meet sudden calamities or constant want. It is possible to describe the means and appliances by which the highest professional skill is bestowed, as freely as light and air, upon the suffering, by which feeble infancy, prostrate manhood, and "unregarded age" are sought out and protected; but the purest, the most abundant, and the most effective streams of charity flow through secret channels, and leave no material for history or statistics.

There is, there can be, no record of the work and gifts of generous stewards of the abundance which has rewarded lives of labor; of men whom the living recall, the steady stream of whose annual beneficence was a king's ransom; of those whom the living know, whose annual gifts are an ample

[1] "There was also a book of Defoe's, called an *Essay on Projects*, and another of Dr. Mather's called *An Essay to do Good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life." — Sparks, *Life of Franklin* (Autobiography), vol. i. p. 15. Perhaps Boston thus owes, indirectly, the Franklin Fund to Cotton Mather.

fortune; or of the "honorable women," whose lives are full of good deeds and almsgiving. It seems only an injustice to the living and the dead of a community, which has had and still has such men and women among its members, to attempt a record necessarily so imperfect.[1]


1831 January 1
"The possession of so much property, imposes upon
me, high duties, and great responsibilities. God in mercy
grant that my mind, may ever be clear & perceive
and my heart ready to perform a faithful
Stewards duty; and, that possession of these
talents, may not prove me a "slothful
servant"
Amos Lawrence

It is not too much to say that the history of the charities of Boston begins with the earliest period of its organized existence.

It is more than one hundred and fifty years since Increase Mather said: "For charity, he might indeed speak it without flattery, this town hath not many equals on the face of the earth."[2]

This charity, indeed, fitly began at the old home in the care of matters of public concern; for, before leaving England, at "a gen^r^all court holden at M^r^ Goffs house, on Wensday, the 10^th^ of Febr., 1629–30" —

"FORASMUCH as the furtherance of the plantac̃on will necessarylie require a great & continuall charge w^ch^ cannot w^th^ convenyence bee defrayed out of the ioint stock of the Com̃ w^ch^ is ordained for the maintenance of the trade, w^th^out endangering the same to bee wasted & exhausted, it was therfore p'pounded that a co̅mon stock should bee raysed from such as beare good affec̃ion to the plantac̃on and the p'pagac̃on therof, and the same to bee employed only in defraym^t^ of publique charges, as maintenance of ministers, transportac̃on of poor famylyes, building of churches & ffortyfycac̃ons, and all other publique & necessary occasions of the plantac̃on."[3]

[1] "Taking the amount of his property at various times as noted by himself from the year 1807 to 1829, a period of twenty-two years, with his known habits of liberality and habits of systematic charity, it would be safe to assert that during his life he expended some seven hundred thousand dollars for the benefit of his fellowmen. Many persons have done more; but few, perhaps, have done as much in proportion to the means which they had to bestow." — *Diary and Correspondence of Amos Lawrence*, etc., p. 312. It is hardly necessary to add that this sum was much greater in value then than now, and that large fortunes are both larger and more numerous; but it may be added that the living rival this munificence and exceed it in amount. We are forbidden to name the living, and it is impossible to name all those who are entitled to honor as examples of charity among the dead. But the names of Perkins and Lawrence, whose autographs adorn our pages, will be recognized as fit representatives of many.

[2] Snow's *History of Boston*, p. 362. "To no city has Boston ever been second in its spirit of liberality." — *Centennial Address*, 1830, by Josiah Quincy, p. 43.

[3] *Records of the Governor and Company of the Mass. Bay in New England*, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

Gifts to George Munnings for the loss of his eye; to Robert Cutler for his lameness; the foundation of a school or college, to be called "Harvard Colledge;" a gratuity to "Mr. Elliot, in respect of his greate pains and charge in instructing ye Indians;" legacies to the poor; and the establishment of almshouses and granaries, — help to fill the early records of the orderly foundation of the State which has grown from this "plantation." But neither the city nor the citizen, even in those early years, confined their benevolence within the peninsula. Mr. Peters, who displayed his charity in buying up provisions and distributing them to all the towns; and the gifts of the early colonists to redeem captives in Canada and in the hands of Barbary pirates, — though the first recorded evidences, were not probably the first actual efforts of a charity which did not end at home.

The charities of a nation, a state, or a city, so far as they are openly manifested, are displayed: (1) In the provision it makes by law, or as a municipal organization, for those who need protection and care, to be found in its legal enactments and corporate action; in the public contributions of its citizens for the special and varied needs of the same classes, — intrusted (2) to public officers or (3) to private organizations, whose action and history are preserved in the records and reports which these modes of action suggest and require for the guidance and instruction of persons who are interested or solicited to aid in the undertaking; and (4) in the occasional contributions of individuals for the relief of persons near them, or "in other parts," who are suffering from sudden and great calamities or struggles. Of the latter there is no competent and satisfactory record. They must be sought with patient labor from scattered sources, and mainly from the files of public journals.

I. The Charity of the Law. — The citizens of Boston brought with them from England the system in regard to the care of the poor, begun before and largely developed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by which parishes or other municipal divisions were charged with their support, and certain officers of those localities with their care.

Within ten years after the settlement of Boston, in 1639, it was ordered, "by this Court and the authority thereof, that any shire court, or any two magistrates out of court, shall have power to determine all differences about lawful settling and providing for poor persons; and shall have power to dispose of all unsettled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance and employment of such persons and families, for the ease of this country:"[1]

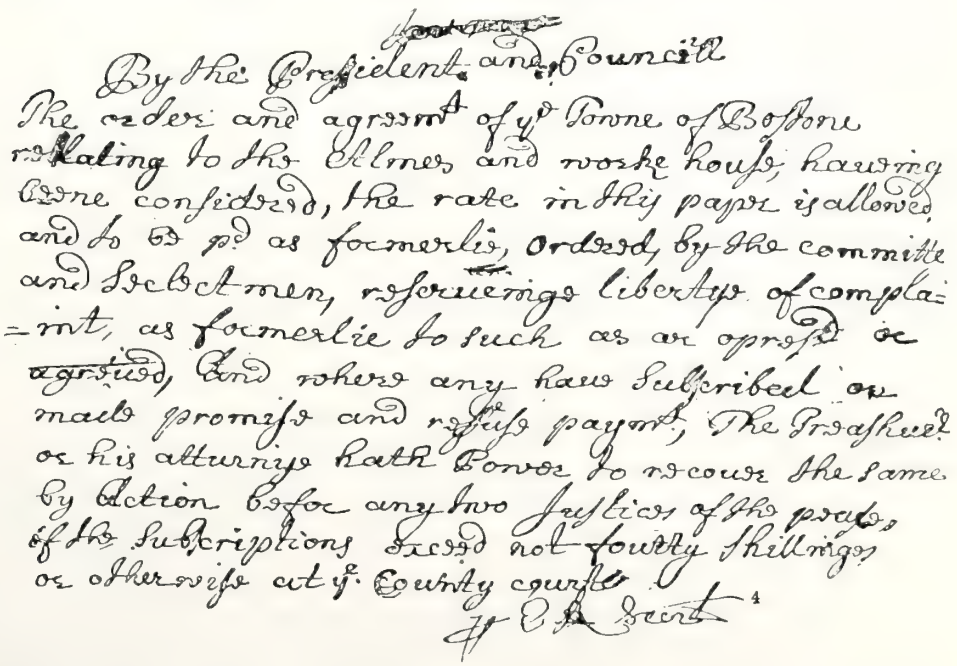
At first, in a small or thinly settled community, no public establishments or special provisions were necessary. Some of the poor received allotments for cultivation or pasturage from the common lands. Their outdoor relief came from the treasury or property of the town, and their fuel from its wood-lots. Some were maintained and lodged in the houses of

[1] *Ancient Charters*, p. 173.

their townsmen. Some were aided by special gifts of food, clothing, or money.[1]

In 1660, Mr. Henry Webb,[2] having "bequeathed £100 to y^e^ Towne to bee improoved for y^e^ use of y^e^ poore according to his will, &c., to be reserved to y^t^ end from time to time; it was ordered y^t^ y^e^ s^d^ £100 bee improved by y^e^ select men for y^e^ end afores^d^ in some building fitt for y^t^ end &c.," and "y^t^ y^e^ selectmen shall have power to make use of a piece of ground in y^e^ comon for y^e^ erecting an almeshouse upon w^th^ suitable accommodations, or to exchange a piece of the Towne's Land for a place more convenient." In 1662, "Itt is ordered that Mr. Petter Olliver is to joine with the deacons of the church of Boston in receiving of Cap't Kean's legacye of one hundred and twenty pounds given to the poore; and further hereby ordered to receive Mr. Webb's legacie of one hundred pounds, with severall other gifts that are given for the erecting of an Allmshouse;" and the selectmen were authorized to agree for its erection.[3]

This almshouse was burned; and at a public meeting of the inhabitants, Dec. 18, 1682, "to consider of rebuildinge of an Almshouse and a



By the President and Councill
The orders and agreem^t^ of y^e^ Towne of Boston
relating to the Almes and worke house, having
beene considered, the rate in this paper is allowed
and to be p^d^ as formerlie, Ordered, by the committe
and Selectmen, reserveinge libertye of compla-
=int, as formerlie to such as are oppress or
aggrieved, and where any have subscribed or
made promise and refuse payment, The Treasurer
or his attorneys hath Power to recover the same
by Action before any two Justices of the peace,
of the Subscriptions exceed not fourty shillings
or otherwise at y^e^ County courte.
[4]

Workehouse," it was "propounded to the Towne" and voted, "That there be a workehouse provided in some convenient place in this towne, with convenience of Lodging such Psons as shall stand in need of Almes, and be sent thither to work." A rate was levied for this building and approved by the President and Council. We find that it was still unfinished in 1686;

[1] A quotation in point, from the Bennett manuscript, is given in Vol. II. pp. 459, 490.

[2] [See Vol. II. p. xv. — Ed.]

[3] [See Vol. II. p. xlviii. — Ed.]

[4] Copy of a paper found in possession of the Overseers of the Poor.

but a bill against the town for supplies for the almshouse, still preserved by the Overseers of the Poor, shows that it was lighted in 1703 by candles supplied by the father of Benjamin Franklin.[1]

A system prevailed at an early period of providing grain at the cost of the town, for sale at a small advance to those of its citizens whose condition required it. As early as March, 1713–14, it was voted that the town will make provision for laying in a stock of grain. In 1715 the selectmen were directed to provide a storehouse for grain; and in 1721 it was voted that the granary be continued to be hired. Soon after, the erection of a building was considered; and in 1728 it was "voted that a grainery be built on the comon, near the Almshouse, and that the sum of not exceeding 1100 pounds, to be paid out of the money to be raised in the general town-meeting, be appropriated for this purpose."[2]

In 1692, by a colonial act,[3] the care of the poor was committed to "overseers of the poor;" or, if no persons were particularly chosen to that office, to the selectmen acting in that capacity.[4]

"The ordinary functions of overseers of the poor" were "defined by the statute of 1793 (c. 59), which repealed certain former laws . . . and left the general legislation on this subject substantially as it has since remained. This statute begins with declaring that every town and district 'shall be holden to relieve and support all poor and indigent persons lawfully settled therein, whenever they shall stand in need thereof;' and to that end authorizes each town and district to vote and raise moneys therefor, and at its annual meeting to choose not exceeding twelve suitable persons dwelling therein to be Overseers of the Poor, and when such are not chosen, the Selectmen shall be Overseers. The second section further provides, 'That said Overseers shall have the care and oversight of all such poor and indigent persons so settled in their respective towns and districts; and shall see that they are suitably relieved, supported, and employed, either in the workhouse or other tenements belonging to such towns or districts, or in such other way and manner as they, at any legal meeting, shall direct, or otherwise at the discretion of said Overseers, at the cost of such town or district.' The act gives the overseers authority to bind out poor children, and also to set to work or to bind out to service, not exceeding one year at a time, such persons, upwards of twenty-one years of age, residing and lawfully settled in the town or district, or who have no settlement in the Commonwealth, whether married or unmarried, 'as are able of body, but have

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 271. — Ed.]

[2] [Ibid., pp. 460, 518. — Ed.]

[3] *Ancient Charters*, p. 217.

[4] "The overseers, subject to the direction of the town, made such provision for the poor as they deemed best; and in small towns the poor were not unfrequently maintained at private houses by persons who made contracts for this purpose with the towns; and these contracts were sometimes let to the lowest bidder at public auction." — *Report on Organization of the Overseers of the Poor*, City Doc. No. 70, 1864, p. 4.

no visible means of support; who live idly, and use and exercise no ordinary or daily lawful trade or business to get their living by; and also all persons who are liable by any law to be sent to the House of Correction.' They are further authorized to take proceedings against houses of ill-fame; to provide for the immediate comfort and relief of distressed strangers, and, if they die, for their burial; and also for the removal, to their legal settlement, of persons likely to become chargeable to the town.

"In the legislation of the seventy [now over eighty-seven] years since this statute was passed, some new powers have been conferred upon the overseers; but their main duties and their principal powers remained enacted in the General Statutes, c. 70, in the same words as in the Statute of 1793. They still have 'the care and oversight of all such poor and indigent persons;' and it is still their duty to 'see that they are suitably relieved, supported, and employed, either in the workhouse or almshouse, or in such other manner as the city or town directs, or otherwise at the discretion of said overseers.' They have still to provide for the immediate relief of strangers; for their removal to their places of settlement; for their burial, if they die; and for binding out poor children. But the power to bind out idle adults has been superseded by provisions more suitable to a populous country;"[1] and in Boston some of these duties and powers are assigned to other officers.

Overseers of the Poor, however, seem to have existed in Boston, before the Act of 1692, since it appears by its records that on March 9, 1690–91, the townsmen voted "that Mr. Nathaniell Williams, Mr. Benjamine Walker, Mr. William Coleman, and Mr. Symeon Stoddard be Overseers of the Poore of this Towne for the year ensueing;" and they with the Treasurer were appointed to present to the General Court proposals for the employment of the poor.

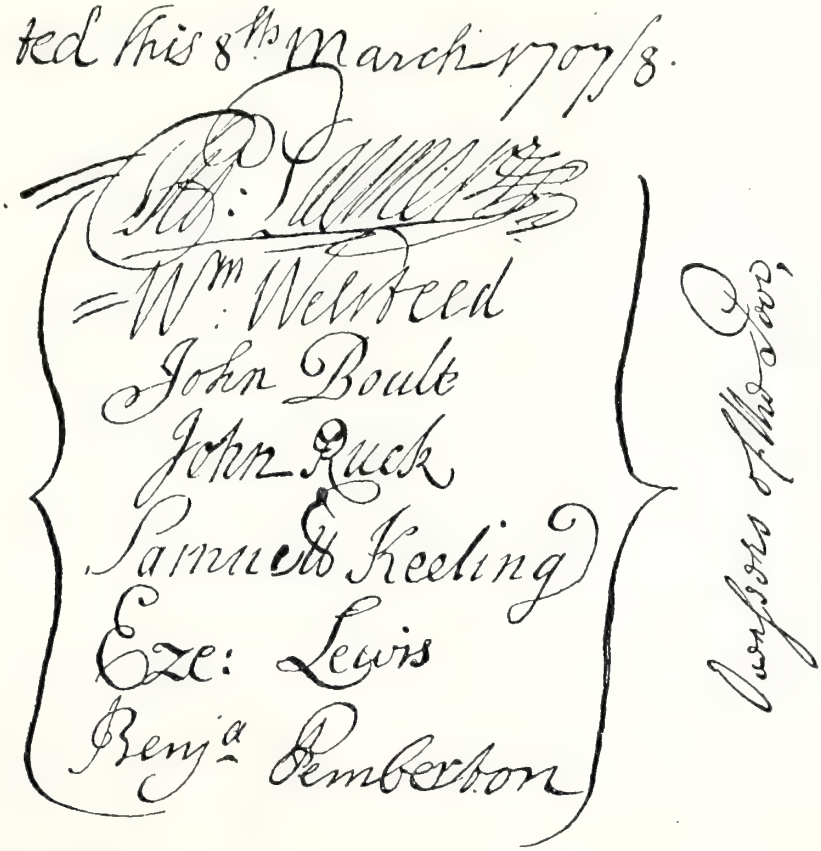
The vote referred to was probably the origin of the Act of 1692. After the passage of that, the number of overseers in Boston varied for some years. In 1736 an act was passed entitled "An Act for employing and providing for the poor of the town of Boston."[2] This act among other things empowered the town of Boston "to chuse twelve Overseers of the Poor . . . for twelve several wards respectively, into which the town is or shall be divided;" authorized the town to erect a workhouse to be under their regulation, and empowered the overseers to send idle and indigent persons to it, to bind out children and warn out intruders.[3] This house for setting "to work"

[1] *Report*, etc. pp. 5, 6.

[2] Sts. 8 and 9 Geo. IV. c. 3, *Mass. Perpetual Laws*, 277.

[3] The office of an overseer in Boston was one of dignity and importance. The Hon. Josiah Quincy (*Municipal History of Boston*, pp. 419, 420,) remarks: "Under the town government the members of the board of overseers of the poor were elected by the votes of the whole body of the inhabitants. They were, consequently, always men of a high general character, known to a majority of the inhabitants, and chosen by them for their integrity, capacity, and adaptation to the service. Among them were always men distinguished for their wealth, their business talents, and charities. . . . There was another element of confidence in the Board of Overseers under the town; . . . *every vacancy in the board*

the idle and dissolute poor — the earliest provision of this kind in the city exclusively for that class — was erected in 1738 on Centry, or Sentry (now



Park) Street and remained there with the almshouse until about the close of the year 1800, when a new almshouse [1] was opened on Leverett Street and occupied till 1823, under the charge of the overseers, who also gave out-door relief to the poor, and administered the eleemosynary gifts and funds more fully described hereafter. In 1821 this building was the receptacle of persons of "all ages and colors, with various vices, misfortunes, and diseases, — subjects of an almshouse, a hospital, a lunatic asylum,

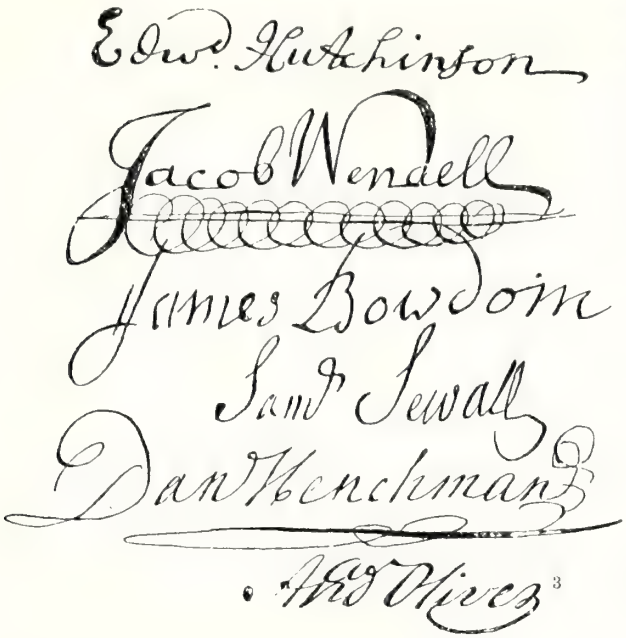
was always, in fact, filled by the nomination of the members of the board themselves. Hence the new members were always well qualified for the office and acceptable to the old members remaining as associates. When a vacancy was about to occur, it was the practice of the board to consult together and to select the individual whose name was to be inserted in the general ticket with those of the members of the board about to remain. This course was known and acceptable to the inhabitants. The individual thus selected being always one whose qualities were by them well known and approved, he was accordingly uniformly chosen, it is believed, without objection or opposition during the whole period of the town government.

"This course of proceeding gave that Board, under the town, a fixed and staid character, inviting confidence and sustaining it."

See a list of the Overseers from 1691 to 1866 inclusive, in *A Manual for the use of the Overseers of the Poor of the City of Boston*, p. 158.

[1] [See the view in Snow's *Boston*, p 52. — ED.]

and a prison."[1] A committee of the town reported, by Josiah Quincy as chairman, "that the accommodations provided for the poor at the almshouse in Boston are not such as comport with the honor and interest of the town." They recommended the establishment of a new almshouse, to be called the House of Industry. The town adopted their recommendation, instructed the committee to provide new buildings, and to inquire and report on the state and treatment of the poor.



[3]

The House of Industry[2] was located in South Boston and completed in 1822; and in 1823 an act was passed authorizing the establishment of a Board of Directors of the House of Industry with specified powers. A controversy arose between these directors and the overseers as to their respective authority, which was warmly waged for a time, and resulted finally, under the advice of William Prescott, Charles Jackson, and Daniel Webster, in defining and separating their jurisdiction, substantially by assigning the charge of out-door relief to the overseers, and of that administered in the House of Industry to the directors.[4] Since the vote of the town in 1821 to change the name of the Almshouse to the House of Industry, Boston has had no institution legally bearing the name of an almshouse, but has maintained a House of Industry for the poor, and for persons sentenced for sundry offences, in different buildings or parts of the same building.

Boston was the second municipality in the United States to make separate provision for juvenile offenders. New York, whose large population probably demanded this at an earlier period, established a separate institution for this class in 1825; and in 1826[5] the city of Boston was author-

[1] *Report, etc.*, p. 7.

[2] [See view in Snow's *Boston*, p. 376, and in the *American Magazine*, i. 51. — Ed.]

[3] Signatures attached to the Report of a Committee for the erecting a workhouse at the upper end of the Common, made July 27, 1739.

[4] A distinction which has since continued, and under which all out-door relief and the charge of considerable funds given to the overseers by charitably disposed persons have been entrusted to the overseers; and the care of the public institutions of the city, for the poor and criminals of all descriptions, has been given to directors or (in the case of the City Hospital) to trustees. The Temporary Home and the Lodge for Wayfarers belong to the department of out-door relief.

[5] *Special Laws*, vol. vi. p. 404.

ized to provide a House of Reformation for them under the care of the Directors of the House of Industry, or such other persons as the city council should appoint. They were at first kept at South Boston, in the building erected for a House of Correction, apart from the other inmates. In 1836 a separate building was erected for them not far from the House of Correction, where they remained until July, 1858; and in 1858 they were removed to that used for the House of Industry at Deer Island. In 1860 a separate building on the Island was provided for girls; and in 1868 one for pauper boys and girls, apart from each other. About 1849 a large building was erected on Deer Island designed to accommodate State paupers and city poor, at the time when cities and towns were required to maintain the former for a compensation paid by the State. This system was changed in 1852, when provision was made for State almshouses. In 1853 the Boston House of Industry on Deer Island was first occupied, in separate departments, by the poor and by the persons sentenced to that institution or to the House of Reformation. Now, without any change in the legal appellation "House of Industry," that term has come to be understood as designating its penal character, although there is still no institution described in our laws, bearing any other name, for the worthy poor, — a result "wholly incompatible with the original design of the town in authorizing its erection," since "the comfort, the health, the exercise, and the useful employment of the virtuous and respectable poor was the fundamental principle of the design;" and "the House of Industry was not constructed, nor had it any strong rooms and iron vaulted cells, for the restraint of sturdy rogues and vagabonds."[1] The different classes, however, have been separated and are now kept at a distance from each other. From time to time changes in the locality and number of the buildings and establishments required for these purposes have been made, to meet the increase in the number and the changes in the character of the persons to be provided for.[2]

The poor and criminals of the city of Boston are now maintained in nine separate institutions under the care of twelve Directors for Public Institutions, chosen by the city council: (1) For male paupers at Rainsford Island, and (2) for females at Austin Farm in West Roxbury, and (3) for both sexes in Charlestown; (4 and 5) the schools for boys and girls at Marcella Street, with (6) the House of Industry and (7) the House of Reformation for juvenile offenders at Deer Island, and (8) the Lunatic

[1] Quincy's *Municipal History*, p. 123.

[2] In 1839 the Lunatic Hospital at South Boston was opened. In 1872 Rainsford Island was purchased from the State, and the male paupers were removed to that place. The Austin Farm at West Roxbury was purchased in 1873, and opened for adult female paupers in 1877. In 1877 the Marcella Street Home, so called, for poor and neglected children, was opened for boys in a building formerly used as the Roxbury Almshouse, subsequently enlarged and refitted; and in 1881 the girls of that class were also placed in a neighboring building. Charlestown, Dorchester, and Brighton, as separate municipalities, each had formerly their respective almshouses. That of the first, built in 1849, is still occupied for the poor only; and the buildings used for this purpose in Dorchester and Brighton are now occupied for other purposes.

Hospital and (9) House of Correction at South Boston. To these may be added the City Hospital on Harrison Avenue for ordinary curable diseases not contagious, under the care of a separate Board of Trustees, chosen in the same manner, begun in 1861 and opened for patients in 1864.

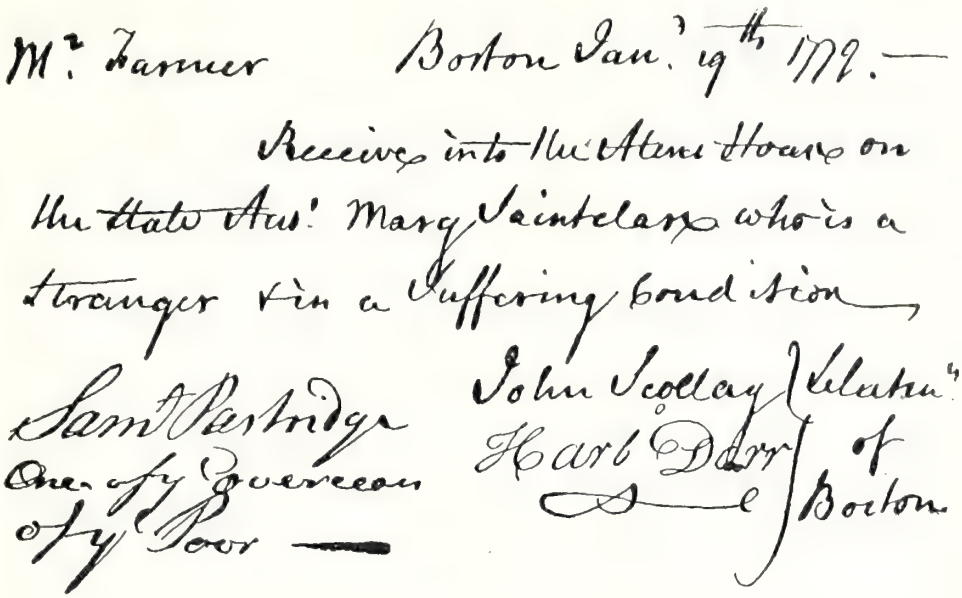
A large and convenient building designated as the Charity Bureau, on Chardon Street, the origin of which is narrated hereafter, is occupied by the overseers of the poor, the city physician, and several charitable associations or agencies. The city Temporary Home, under the care of the overseers, adjoins this building, and there meals are given to poor persons, and women and children are temporarily cared for. At the Lodge for Wayfarers, near by, on Hawkins Street, also under the care of this Board, casual persons in need are received on due examination, and provided with a bath, a neat bed, and a meal, for which they are required to perform a certain amount of labor.

The overseers of the poor were originally, and until 1864, chosen annually by the people, and after the act of 1735 one in each ward. In 1864 an act was passed providing for the choice of four each year by the city council, without regard to locality, for periods of three years; but the same powers, except by the change referred to in 1823, have been exercised by the same number of persons, and the early dignity of the office and the character of its incumbents were restored by this change in the mode of choice. None of the officials who have administered the affairs of the town or city have, for the greater part of its existence, deserved better the gratitude and good opinion of their fellow-citizens. The poor we have always with us, and they have been faithfully cared for by those who have administered the charity of its citizens, both that provided by law and levied upon the ready or reluctant tax-payer, and that of the cheerful giver, voluntarily bestowed.

Rules to determine the settlement of paupers, — that is to say, the town or other organization by which they should be supported, — were from time to time established, and provision made for the determination of disputes in reference to this subject. In 1659 it was enacted "that where any person with his family, or in case he hath no family, shall be resident in any town or peculiar of this jurisdiction for more than three months, without notice given to such person or persons, . . . that the town is not willing that they should remain as an inhabitant amongst them;" or if they remained after such notice, without an application by the selectmen to the next county court for relief, such person or persons should be provided for by that place. The county courts were to determine complaints of this nature, subject to an appeal to the Court of Assistants. If no place was so liable, the pauper was to be supported at the expense of the county by such town thereof as the county court should designate. In 1675 this provision was modified in cases where the sufferers had been "forced from their habitations through the present calamity of the war;"[1]

[1] With King Philip.

and the burden of their support, "where necessity requires, by reason of inability of relations," etc., was thrown upon "the publick treasury."[1]



As early as 1767 it was provided that the cost of removing poor persons not settled in Massachusetts but in some other province or colony, if not paid by themselves, should be borne by the province;[2] and in 1794, by a general act in regard to the "Relief and support, employment and removal of the Poor," provision was made for the removal of poor persons having no lawful settlement in the State, or their support at the expense of the Commonwealth.[3]

The laws in regard to the settlement of poor persons have led to much controversy and litigation. The natural tendency of the pauper class to the largest cities and towns has made it for the interest of Boston to oppose the easy acquisition of a settlement; but the course of legislation has tended to facilitate it. The early records of towns contain frequent evidence of the caution with which their officers endeavored to prevent new possible burdens upon their treasuries.[4] One of the early modes of obtaining a settlement was by a residence for a certain period, — first three, and afterward twelve months, without warning; and new comers were promptly and habitually warned, in a manner which seems most inhospitable. This measure was designed to protect the town from possible future liability.

[1] *Ancient Charters*, p. 174.

[2] Ibid., p. 663.

[3] Statute, 1793, c. 59. The rules of settlement have varied at different periods, becoming much more complicated and stringent than the simple provision of 1639; but where these have not designated the place obliged to support the pauper, his support, since this act at least, has been derived from the Commonwealth; and this distinction has created the two classes of State paupers and town paupers.

[4] [See Vol. I. p. 229. — ED.]

The citizens of Boston watched with careful scrutiny those who came to reside among them.[1] None were permitted to remain without their assent, given sometimes upon assurance that the burden of supporting the new comer and his family would not fall upon the community. To protect the town he was warned out and reported to the Board of Quarter Sessions.[2] A volume still preserved in the city records contains "A list of severall ppsons returned to y^e^ countie courts at severall times, not admitted nor aproved of by y^e^ Selectmen of Boston to be inhabitants of y^e^ towne." Another comprises a number of the bonds given to protect the town from risk of expenditure for the support of new inhabitants.[3] As Hubbard says, in reference to religious persecution: —

"The inhabitants of the place having purchased the country for themselves, they accounted it an unreasonable injury for any one to come presumptuously without license or allowance to live amongst them; . . . and theretofore thought themselves bound to hold out the sharp against any one that should attempt, without leave, to thrust themselves amongst them, which renders them that obstinately and wilfully would do so *felones de se*, like them that will break into a man's dwelling-house whether he will or no."

This feature of New England life deserves more attention than it has yet received. It is referred to here in connection with the system for the sup-

[1] "From about 1713, it was the custom of the overseers with one or more of His Majesty's justices, accompanied by a constable, to walk through the different parts of the town, observing the condition of the people for themselves, sometimes making an appointment to go at night. At the same time it was the duty of the constables to keep a good lookout that no strangers were allowed to gain a settlement by lack of being warned out, and that none of the inhabitants were idle or unthrifty. After the visits, when necessary, the Justices and Overseers sat as a Court to pass upon what they had observed, or what had been reported to them.

"'*Extracts from Minutes and Votes — 1702 and 1703*: At a Prosession of the Overseers of the Poor, July 21, 1702, Goody Crease, her circumstances Enquired into. Esther Sigsworth and her three daughters are reported not to imploy themselves in an Honest Imploy answerable to their way of liveing, and that they Entertain in their House Company dancing at night. William Gowers his Circumstances Considered. Upon Enformation that a boy of Goody Kitchens lives disorderly that case was enquired into. Henry Adams his condition was consulted.'"

Report of Constable, 1703.

"'Thare is, in Bill's hous in black hors lane, widdow Grees & her darter in law and her one darter, — her name is Mary Grees. It is said by soum of her neighbors that said Mary will stand at the door and call in Saillors as they pass by.

"'There lives in the hous that was old Stars his darter ruth harden & his grand darter ruth harden. It is reported by sum that know the grand darter that she seldom works at all, and when she does it is only at making of lace.

"'Sum say that manger Arnell, in black hors lane, lives a rude, Idle life.

"'There lives neer Mr. Increase Mathers widow Clark and her darter, and Tamzen Kents darter. It is reported that they live Idle and keep bad order.'" — *Annual Report of the Overseers of the Poor*, 1870, pp. 42, 43.

The following document found among the papers of the Overseers of the Poor furnishes evidence of the medical skill of their officers as well as of their efforts to secure the repayment of expenses incurred by the town: —

Boston, feb. 16, 1703-4.

Whereas the town of Boston hath expended upon me the underwritten (considerably) in order to curing me of a cancer, I do hereby promis and ingage to pay to the Treasurer of the town of Boston, in behalfe of said town, the sum of five pounds curr^t^ money of New England as soon as it shall pleas God to inable me therto, and not to before.

FRANCIS THRASHER, The mark of
ROB^T^. CALEF, JOHN ‡ LATTANY.

[2] *Ancient Charters*, pp. 174, 251.

[3] The following is a copy of the first bond in the volume: —

"Witnesse these presents, that I, Edward Creeke of Boston, doe binde myself, my executors & administrat^r^, to Thomas Brattle, Treasurer of this towne, and his succesers in that office, in the penall sume of fortie pounds, that Benjamine Walter or any of his ffamily shall not be chargeable to this towne duringe his or any of their abode therein.

"Witnesse my hand, the 7th day of Aug., 1679.

"BENJA. WALTER. EDWARD CREEKE."

The last bears date Oct. 9, 1700.

There were provisions also for the removal or banishment of the intruder from the town. See *Ancient Charters*, pp. 252, 662, 674.

port of the poor. They were cared for faithfully and tenderly, but great caution was exerted in admitting to the number of the townsmen those for whose benefit the risk of this burden was assumed. The obligation assumed by these sponsors was not lost sight of, as the following copy of a letter from the beginning of the volume already quoted may show: —

Boston, 3 May, 1692.

James Barbor, — the Reson of these few Lines are to acquaint you that your father, John Barbor, is come to Boston, and being by the Selectmen of Boston Demanded to give a Reson thereof, he saith you haue not been kind to him, but macketh him worcke two or three miles abrode, which is burdensoum to him, and more than he can do in his old age; the select of Boston do Require you as you will keep your Couinant which you maid with them 27 Octob. 90, To come and Tacke Caire of your ffather, or ealse you may expect wee shall prossecute the Law upon you.

These Lines are by order of the Selectmen of Boston.

Joseph Bridgham, *Record^r*.

A coppy of a
Letter to James Barbor.

The modern system of charity, which invokes for each applicant for relief the special attention and care of some voluntary moral and friendly sponsor, has brought us back in another form to the plan which our ancestors adopted as a matter of business caution.

On the "28th 6 mo. 1654," "Itt is ordered y^t^, upon the Security of Hugh Willms, Mary Hayle is admitted to reside with us, the sayd Williams ingaging y^t^ she shall not be chargeable to the towne." Three years after, Mr. Samuel Cole was most sharply reminded that, whereas he had "intertained Elizabeth Knap[1] into his house contrary to the order of y^e^ towne, and y^e^ s^d^ Elizabeth yett remaynes in this towne; itt is ordered y^t^ in case y^e^ s^d^ Elizabeth proove to bee chargeable to y^e^ towne, such charges bee required of Mr. Cole from time to time as first receiving her." And the very next month "Derman Mahoone is fined twenty shillings for intertaining two Irish women contrary to an order of y^e^ towne in y^t^ case provided; & is to quitt his house of them forthw^th^ att his perill."[2]

[1] Was this, perchance, Elizabeth Knap the "Ventriloqua" of Groton, referred to in Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences?* [See Vol II. p. 159. — Ed.]

[2] One of the cases arising in the courts under these provisions of law records a history which might have furnished a subject for a tale by Hawthorne or a poem by Whittier, and illustrates curiously the religious as well as the social history and habits of the time.

A controversy arose between the towns of Newbury and Harvard as to expenses incurred in the support of a pauper who was a granddaughter of Shadrach Ireland, a teacher of certain peculiar doctrines in religion. Ireland fled from Charlestown in 1760 to Harvard, to avoid a prosecution for blasphemy, and lived there in privacy till 1780, in the house of one of his followers named Cooper, in a retired place.

He occupied a chamber in Cooper's house, from which a string connected with a clapper passed into the room occupied by the family, and when any person approached the house the string was pulled to give him notice. He had also a place in the barn to which he occasionally retired for greater privacy, and was not called by his proper name, but sometimes "brother," "uncle," "Uncle Jewett," or "the man." Sometime after he had resided there a back lean-to was erected, in which he worked at his business of cabinet-making, and a cellar under it was connected by stairs with his chamber, so that he

In 1876 a commission of three persons was appointed by the mayor, under an order of the city council, to consider and report upon the treatment of the poor, and to ascertain what changes, if any, were desirable in reference to their relief, maintenance, and employment. This commission submitted a report in 1878, containing statements and information in regard to the manner and cost of poor-relief. They pointed out what seemed to them to be the defects in the existing system, — the want of information on important points, and the large expenditure incurred, — and recommended various changes.[1]

could go down unobserved. He never ate with the family, but alone in his chamber; and when he happened to be out of the house and a stranger was there, some one of the family was sent to tell him that he might come in privately. He often went to the house of one Willard, a neighbor and one of his followers, but always in the evening, and on approaching the house made a signal, on which some one would go out to him, and if only members of the family were in the house he would go in. His followers used to visit him, and he would converse with them and exhort them.

After he had resided there ten or twelve years he purchased a parcel of land from Willard, on which his followers built him a house, where he resided during the remainder of his life, still keeping his true name a secret, and seeing no persons except his followers.

The court were of opinion that no settlement was acquired by such concealed residence without warning, and remarked that "if a person should conceal himself in a cave like some of King Charles's judges, the town being ignorant of it, could not warn him to depart, and ought not to be charged for his support." See the case of Newbury *v.* Harvard, in 6 *Pickering's Reports*, p. 1.

[1] These were as follows: —

1. That all public agencies for the relief of the poor, both adults and children, at the expense of the city, should be placed under the supervision and control of one responsible body, — the Overseers of the Poor, — except

2. That the City Hospital, the Lunatic Hospital, if retained, and the proposed institution for inebriates, if established, should be under the control and management of one board of trustees, subject to the provisions recommended as to investigating the cases aided, and obtaining compensation whenever authorized by law.

3. That additional powers for the permanent aid and care of children should be obtained, and that they should be kept in smaller numbers and establishments, on the "family system," and instructed and trained to labor, or placed in families.

4. That out-door relief from funds raised by taxation should be administered by the overseers in strict conformity with the law, or by rules substantially refusing such relief, — (*a*) to able adults, not incapacitated for labor, whose destitution is caused by their own intemperance, crime, or other fault, of which the overseers must judge, (*b*) who have for a short and fixed period required such aid to an amount exceeding a fixed and moderate sum; (*c*) even for that period, unless in the opinion of the overseers clearly advisable and not injurious, (*d*) and even to those who are unable to labor except in cases where humanity requires temporary aid to those suffering from disease or accident, or where deserving persons, particularly the aged, may be partially and economically provided for without disturbing their family ties or associations, or impairing the self-respect and self-dependence of those around them.

5. That when such aid is refused, however, in-door relief should be always given; but to persons able to labor, only on the performance of such labor, in some suitable place, and in an almshouse to others.

6. Provided that the income of trust-funds, given for charitable purposes, should be used, subject to the limitations imposed by the donors, for cases which require relaxation of these rules.

7. That compensation by labor should be required in all cases, as far as practicable, for in or out-door relief.

8. That the overseers should be required to investigate and record the facts in regard to all persons aided as poor in or out of any institution, to take the necessary steps to obtain compensation for the relief afforded, — (*a*) from relatives, (*b*) other places, (*c*) or the State; and to enforce the laws in regard to vagrancy in cases coming under their official notice.

9. That the persons receiving in-door relief should be separated and classified according to age, sex, character, and condition of body.

10. That the necessary means and authority should be provided for requiring labor from all those who are assisted for any length of time and are able to work, and for setting at hard labor, under restraint in a house of industry,

Since that date one of these recommendations — a provision for casuals — has been successfully adopted. An excellent establishment called the Lodge for Wayfarers, on Hawkins Street, has been provided, where the wandering poor are received, examined, cleansed, fed, kept in order, and made to work. Continued and increased efforts have been made to classify the poor and provide employment for them. The organization of the Associated Charities has aided to bring public and private agencies for relief into closer union. Poor persons, however, in and out of a public institution are under the care and management of different boards, and when they pass under the roof of a public building, although separated in locality from criminals, they are still with them under the care of the same board.

The expenditures of Boston for the poor are believed to exceed the average of those in other cities and towns in this State or elsewhere.[1] On the whole, public and private charities are more carefully and wisely administered; but the faithful efforts which have caused this improvement are still demanded.[2]

those who fall within the provisions of law as to vagrancy or misconduct themselves, under the care of the overseers.

11. That provision should be made for the temporary care of casual paupers, or the wandering poor, in some establishment where they will be cleansed, fed, kept in order, isolated, and made to work, and means adopted for registering, identifying, and tracing them if necessary.

12. That provision should be made, in order to assist both public and private almoners of charity, for the collection and registration and communication of information in regard to all means, public and private, of aiding the poor and destitute; and, in regard to the person aided, with a view to securing the systematic co-operation of all officers required, and of all private persons desirous to give such aid, in directing it to those really needy and deserving, in the most effective and economical manner.

13. That all officials charged with the expenditure of public moneys for the poor should be required to keep their accounts and make their reports so as to show as far as possible the causes of pauperism, its increase or diminution, and the effect of the system, adopted in its management, on the persons aided or the public expenditure, and the actual cost for the various leading items of the actual maintenance of the poor. *Report of the Commission on the Treatment of the Poor*, City Doc. 36, of 1878, p. 38.

[1] The average cost of the full support of a pauper for a year was as follows: —

	In Boston	*In the rest of the State*
1874	$204.12	$126.57
1875	204.81	155.71
1876	166.06	142.34
1877	167.90	134.41

It is not so easy to compare the cost of partial support or out-door relief. Full support is a definite subject of comparison, but partial support may be greater or less; so that it does not appear whether the average cost was for a greater or less amount of average relief in or out of Boston. The following would seem to indicate a smaller average cost per person aided in the city: —

Number of persons receiving partial support during the year ending March 31, 1876, by the city of Boston	18,339
Vagrants partially supported by Boston	1,952
Lodgers at police stations	60,803
	81,094
Cost of partial support	$105,585.23
Overseers' salaries and miscellaneous expenses	22,569.23
	$128,155.46
Less amount reimbursed by State and town	30,576.02
Net cost of partial support	$97,579.44
The State, outside of Boston and not including said city, gave partial support to (persons)	47,649
The State, outside of Boston and not including said city, also gave partial support to (vagrants)	146,984
Total number receiving partial support	194,633
Net cost of partial support afforded to the above 194,633 persons	$491,387.79

[2] One great want is a more thorough, complete, and accurate collection of the statistics both of public and private charity, from which the causes of pauperism may be deduced, and the amount and modes of relief given, and its distribution, be gathered. A certain reluctance is sometimes manifested on the part of excellent persons to give this information.*

Our ancestors early recognized the importance of some public control over gifts for pub-

* See p. 669.

II. Funds or Contributions Intrusted to Public Officers. — The citizens of Boston manifested at an early period their "good affection to the plantation and the propagation thereof," by contributions intrusted to the public authorities for "poor families, . . . and other public and necessary occasions."

The earliest provision of this character for the poor of Boston, of which there is any authentic record, is in the will of Stephen Winthrop,[1] dated May 3, 1658.

William Paddy's legacy of "fifteene pounds" is the first to appear upon the records of the town under the date of "29, 9, 58" (Nov. 29, 1658). Between that date and 1697 many others are specified or alluded to, such as different legacies, "with severall other gifts that were given for the erecting of an Allmshouse." The town seems to have relied upon its citizens for voluntary contributions for these purposes, although the "inhabitants" did not hesitate to levy a "benevolence" if it became necessary, since we find them voting in 1684, when "the workehouse" was "yet unfinished, . . . in regard that many that have subscribed their free contribution toward it have not paid, and others have refused to contribute at all," that "the Committee be impowered to make a rate upon the estates of them y^t refuse to contribute at all, and put into the said rate the subscriptione of those y^t have not paid." And in the act of 1735, already referred to, the town is "authorized to make purchases and receive donations for endowing the said workehouse to the value of three thousand pounds per annum; . . . the several donations to be always applied according to the will of the Donors."

In 1674 the Charlestown Poor's Fund was founded, which now amounts to about $25,000, and is administered by the two senior deacons of each regularly organized church in Charlestown and the Charlestown members of the Boston City Council. In 1701 the Stoughton Poor Fund was established for the Dorchester poor; and in 1759 a Poor Widows' Fund, now administered by the Board of Aldermen, was given by Joanna Brooker and others to the town of Boston. Donations for the poor in Boston became so

lic uses, and in 1641 * enacted "that all gifts and legacies given and bequeathed to the College, Schools of learning, or any publick use, shall be truly and faithfully disposed of according to the true and declared intent of the donors. And all and every person or persons betrusted to receive or improve any such gifts or legacies shall be liable from time to time to give account of their disposal and management thereof to the County Court of that Shire where they dwell, and where such estate shall lie, who are hereby empowered to require the same where need shall be, and to appoint feoffees of trust to settle and manage the same according to the will of the donors."

Protection and investigation are still secured for funds bequeathed to a city or town for charitable, religious, and educational purposes; † and for a short period corporations and trustees under acts of incorporation, holding funds in trust for such purposes, were required by a law of the Commonwealth,* to report to the Secretary of State. These acts, however, were repealed in 1866,† and there is now no public source of information or control as to funds held by individuals or private corporations, except through the action of a Court in special cases.

[1] He was the fourth son of Governor Winthrop; recorder of the town of Boston, and, after his return to England, colonel of a regiment under Cromwell, and a member of one of his parliaments. "So much trusted by Cromwell that he designed, it is said, to appoint him successor to Major-General Harrison." — Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*, iv. 613.

* *Ancient Charters*, p. 52. † *Gen. Sts*, c. 30. * *Sts.*, 1860, c. 239; 1865, c. 271. † *St.*, 1866, c. 75

numerous that less than forty years after the act of 1735, by an act passed in 1772, reciting that many charitably disposed persons had made or were inclined to make donations for the poor, but that the overseers of the poor not being incorporated these good intentions were frustrated, the overseers were made a body politic with the power to hold and apply these and other gifts "for the benefit, advantage, and use of" the poor, limiting their right to hold property at that time to the amount of £60,000.[1]

Since that time numerous gifts for different purposes have been added from time to time, until the total amount held by the overseers on April 30, 1881, amounted to $525,827.91, including $8,087.91 in cash, the remainder in investments reckoned at their par value. Among these the generous gifts of John Boylston for aged persons, orphans, and deserted children, called the Boylston Relief and Education funds, amounting to $134,983.49; and of David Sears, for various charitable purposes, amounting to $257,502.81, — deserve particular mention.

Other charitable gifts have been intrusted to public authorities for management and control, — such as the bequest of Benjamin Franklin (1791), for loans to young married artificers, now amounting to about $250,000, in charge chiefly of the Board of Aldermen. The Boston City Hospital, mainly supported by the city, and the Chardon Street Charity Bureau, were also aided by private donations; and the Public Library is largely indebted to the generosity of Joshua Bates and others.[2]

III. Private Charitable Institutions. — In the recent *Directory of the Charitable and Beneficent Organizations of Boston*, issued by one of the societies called the Associated Charities, the different organizations are divided into twelve classes: 1. Industrial; 2. Government aid; 3. Relief irrespective of class; 4. Relief for special classes; 5. Aid for foreigners; 6. Sick and defective; 7. Fruit and flower missions; 8. Homes; 9. Reform; 10. Humane; 11. Mutual benefit; 12. Educational and religious, including churches, — comprising a total number of 487. It appears that there are 187 different charitable agencies recorded, besides 46 mutual-benefit societies, 219 churches and chapels, and 35 colleges, schools, libraries, museums,

[1] The earliest of these gifts to the overseers, mentioned on their records, has a certain romantic interest, and offers a striking illustration of the uncertainties of life. In 1760 a person, whose name remains to this day unknown, placed in the hands of the overseers a sum of money to be held by them, and "only the interest arising thereon to be by them given to such Person or Persons of good character who, by the Providence of God, have been reduced from affluence or good circumstances to Penury and Want." Twenty-five years after, the donor, in his own words, was "by the providence of God called to solicit that charity which he once little expected to want."

The Board aided him from the funds in their hands, and, respecting his reluctance to permit the disclosure of his name, recorded their gifts as made to "A. B., known by the Board to be the person who, under that signature, gave £66 13*s.* 4*d.* into the hands of the overseers, . . . he being now reduced, and is a real object of the charity which his benevolence first instituted." This donation now forms part of what is called in the overseers' accounts the "Pemberton or General Fund," and may be considered its foundation, although the gift of Benjamin Pemberton, an overseer in 1708, from whom this title is taken, was much larger. See his autograph on p. 647.

[2] [See chapter on "Libraries," in the present volume. — Ed.]

missionary and tract societies, etc., assigned to the class designated as "educational and religious." Multiplied by their different objects, — that is, counting each institution in all the classes to which it belongs, — these agencies are increased to 695.

Omitting the churches, the mutual-benefit societies, and the State and national charities, but counting some charities entered in the *Directory* as sub-headings, we find that the Charities of Boston include 176 voluntary organizations for numerous and varied purposes, in addition to 13 established funds or charities intrusted to the public authorities for administration, and 30 public institutions supported by taxes, while the churches and religious associations are also large almoners of charity. It is not easy to classify these institutions with exactness. Some which it has not been thought proper to include in this enumeration, — such as libraries and purely educational institutions, — are founded and supported largely by voluntary gifts, in part appropriated to the assistance of pupils; and are therefore fairly included in a catalogue of the good works and alms-giving of Boston.[1]

These institutions have rapidly increased with the population and wealth of the city, and the last decade, 1870–80, has given birth to sixty-six of the one hundred and seventy-six referred to. Dividing the two hundred and fifty years, which our Memorial volumes cover, into successive periods,[2] we find that these were established or founded as follows: —

Period.	Years.	Government charities supported by taxes.	Funds or gifts intrusted to the public authorities by individuals.	Private charitable institutions.	Total.
1630 — 1700	70	3	1	2	6
1700 — 1750	50	. . .	1	2	3
1750 — 1775	25	. . .	2	. . .	2
1775 — 1800	25	. . .	4	5	9
1800 — 1810	10	1	. . .	2	3
1810 — 1820	10	. . .	1	13	14
1820 — 1830	10	3	. . .	5	8
1830 — 1840	10	1	1	13	15
1840 — 1850	10	4	. . .	8	12
1850 — 1860	10	2	1	21	24
1860 — 1870	10	6	2	35	43
1870 — 1880	10	9 *	. . .	66	75
1880 — 1881	1	1	. . .	4	5
Total	251	30	13	176	219

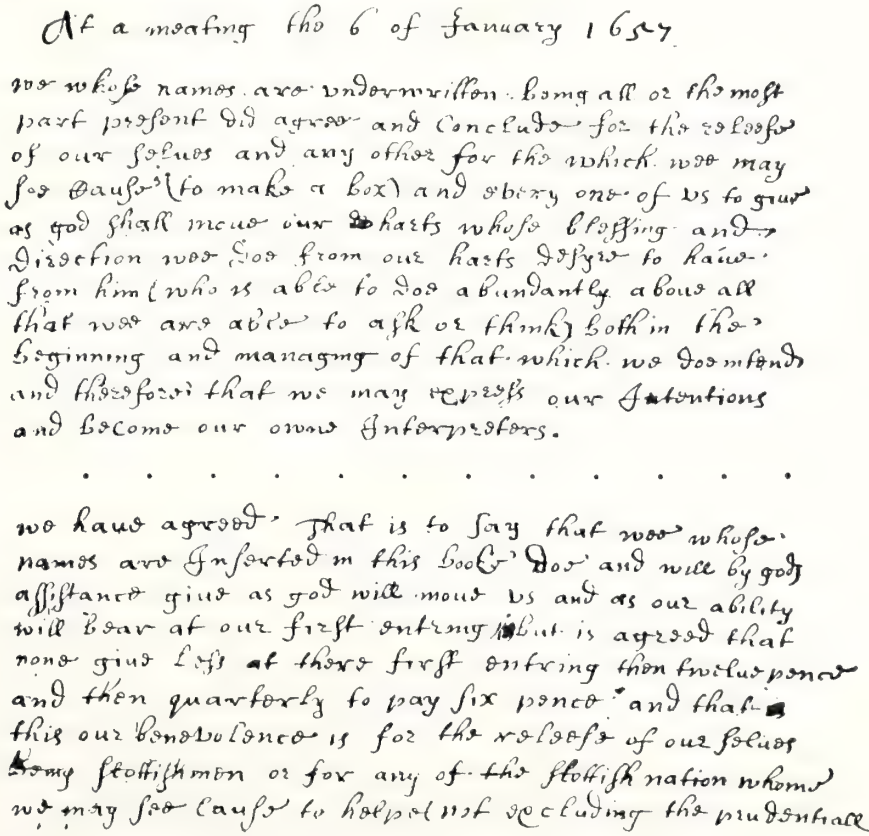
* Including Truant School department.

Note. — The date of the removal or division of an almshouse is counted as a new institution.

[1] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education, Past and Present," and the instances of organized charities under woman's control in Mrs. Cheney's chapter on "The Women of Boston." — Ed.]

[2] Adding the current year.

This catalogue of names, which fills over one hundred pages of the *Directory*, shows, like Homer's catalogue of the Grecian ships gathered for another warfare, how heartily and readily the men and women of Boston have joined with each other in the great siege, which has been bequeathed from sire to son, of the fortresses of poverty, ignorance, and crime. It is obviously impossible to give the briefest history of all these institutions. A few representatives only can be selected.



At a meating the 6 of January 1657

we whose names are vndermwillon being all or the most part present did agree and Conclude for the releefe of our selues and any other for the which wee may for Cause (to make a box) and every one of vs to giue as god shall moue our hearts whose blessing and direction wee Doe from our harts desyre to haue from him (who is able to doe abundantly above all that wee are able to ask or think) both in the beginning and managing of that which we doe intend and therefore that we may express our Intentions and become our owne Interpreters.

. . . . . .

we haue agreed that is to say that wee whose names are Inserted in this Booke Doe and will by gods assistance giue as god will moue vs and as our ability will beare at our first entring that is agreed that none giue Less at there first entring then twelue pence and then quarterly to pay six pence and that this our benevolence is for the releefe of our selues being scottishmen or for any of the scottish nation whome we may see cause to helpe not excluding the prudentiall.

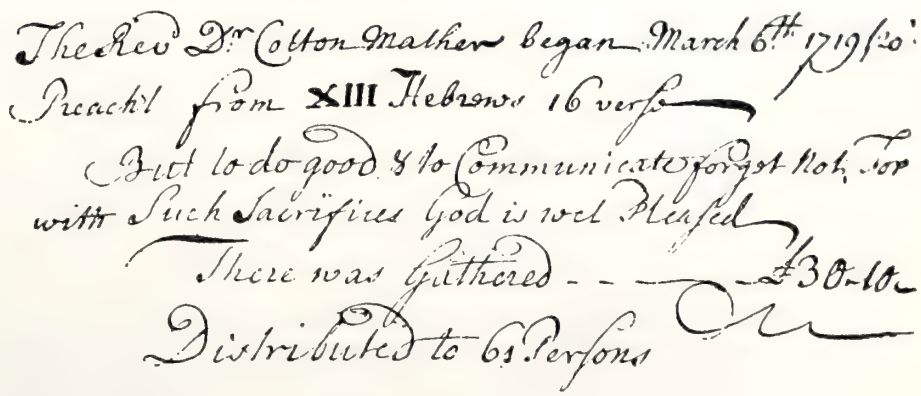
First among them in date is the "Scots' Charitable Society," which has the proud pre-eminence of a history almost coeval with the city, and preceding by sixty-three years its nearest successor. "In 1652 . . . the ship 'John and Sara' arrived, bringing two hundred and seventy-two Scotchmen who had been taken prisoners at the disastrous battle of Dunbar, where four thousand fell and ten thousand became prisoners of war to Cromwell. As the shortest way of disposing of these they were shipped off to the colonies, there to be sold for service for a longer or shorter period as the case might be.[1] Five years after, in 1657,—for its history in brief to this

[1] Address of its president at the bi-centennial celebration in 1857, in the *Constitution and By-laws of the Scots' Charitable Society*, 1878, p. 146. "In the 'Jno. & Sara,' of London, John Greene, m^r for New England, Robert Rich, m^rt Iron-worke, & household Stuffe, & other

date can best be given in the quaint words of its records, — "Some Gentlemen Merchants and others of the Scots' Nation residing in Boston, New England, from a compassionate concern & affection to their indigent Countrymen in these parts, voluntarily formed themselves into a charitable Society, Anno Domini 1657, which did subsist some years. . . . This charitable design was again revived Anno Domini 1684; their Number and Abilities being considerably increased;" and "This Society has ever since without interruption been continued & promoted to the Compassionate and Seasonable Relief of many."[1] And now besides its annual subscription it has a permanent fund, a temporary home for its beneficiaries, and a resting-place for them after death in the cemetery at Mt. Auburn. And while its members are proud of its association with their mother-country, "it would," in the words of Edward Everett, "be doing injustice to a society of this description, though it may bear a foreign name, to regard it as an institution of foreigners;" injustice, we may add, to the city which recognizes it as its earliest organized charity, and first among the twelve associations designed especially for the relief of persons of other nations, — British, Irish, German, French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, Hebrew, Scandinavian, and Swiss.

[2]

The next-born manifestation of permanent and organized private charity in Boston was the "Quarterly Charity Lecture," so called, founded by a few persons who held quarterly meetings on Sunday evenings for benevolent purposes, at which some member was invited to preach. The record of these meetings begins in 1720, when it was determined to invite the ministers of the town to take their turns in this service. On March 6, 1720,



Cotton Mather commenced the long succession which continued until 1860, when the quarterly lecture became annual; but the charity, its fund, and its lecture still exist, and its record bears many honored names. Eight Congregational churches, with their ministers and deacons, are associated

provisions for Planters and Scotch prisoners, free by ordinance of Parliament, dat 20th October, 1651."—*Suffolk Deeds*, lib. 1, fol. 6.

[1] *Constitution*, etc., p. 47.

[2] Autograph of Robert Porteous, the first "boxmaister" or treasurer, elected Jan. 6, 1657.

for its maintenance, and hold and distribute its charity. There are two funds for the benefit of the poor of Boston, yielding from $1,500 to $1,800 yearly, and it is required that these should be distributed at the lecture, and a collection taken up at least annually. The Charity Lecture is the earliest of nineteen private charitable institutions or funds designed for the poor in general, irrespective of class.

The Massachusetts General Hospital is the earliest establishment of that description, and the largest charity of its class in the State. It was incorporated in 1811, and up to 1881 had received at its asylum for the insane in Somerville, opened in 1818, 6,556 patients; at its hospital in Boston, opened in 1821, 64,420; and had administered relief at the latter to 235,818 out-patients. It has received donations amounting to $2,586,924, besides a subscription of nearly $100,000 for a Convalescent Hospital. Twenty-seven private and three public or government hospitals and dispensaries carry on this benevolent work for the sick and defective classes within the limits of Boston or in its vicinity. These institutions, especially the first, have not only administered relief to the sick, suffering, and poor, but have largely aided scientific discovery and professional education.[1]

Successive years record the birth, among the more important of these institutions, of the Eye and Ear Infirmary, in 1824; of the Institution for the Blind, in 1829; the Lying-in Hospital, in 1832; the House of the Good Samaritan, in 1860; the New England Hospital for Women and Children, in 1863; the various institutions of the "work of faith" begun by Dr. Cullis in 1864; and the Adams Nervine Asylum, in 1877.

The Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind deserves especial mention. It preserves the name of a citizen of Boston who was one of the first to set the example of the generous gifts which we are proud to recall,[2] and it must be forever associated with the untiring devotion of Samuel G. Howe, whose studies and labors have made philanthropy

> "On darkling man in pure effulgence shine,
> And cheer the clouded mind with light divine."

Since its foundation at least twenty-nine similar institutions, established in as many different States, have given the light of instruction to some eight thousand pupils.

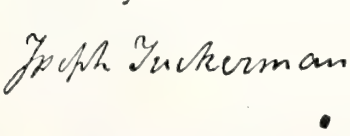
[1] It should never be forgotten that in the Massachusetts General Hospital the success of the great discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether was first established and publicly and experimentally demonstrated to the world. [See the chapter on "Medicine in Boston" in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Of Mr. Perkins, Robert C. Winthrop said, after his decease: "He was one of the noblest specimens of humanity to which our city has ever given birth, leading the way for half a century in every generous enterprise, and setting one of the earliest examples of those munificent charities which have given our city a name and a praise throughout the earth." — *Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins*, by Thomas G. Cary: Boston, 1856, p. 258. [His portrait is given on p. 118. — Ed.]

Another class is that of the Homes for the aged, for orphans, and the infirm, which take the place in private charity that the almshouse holds in public institutions. Of these the Boston Female Asylum, established in 1800, was the first; and now some thirty-three establishments of this class open their doors for those in need, from helpless infancy to homeless age. In addition to three organizations or foundations for improved dwellings for the poor, the Industrial Aid Society, 1835, and the Needlewoman's Friend Society, 1847, are the leaders of thirteen different organizations designed to assist in providing employment. There are twenty-one establishments to promote reform, like the Penitent Female's Refuge, 1818, and the Society for Aiding Discharged Convicts, 1846; and five institutions to save life or prevent suffering, like the Humane Society of Massachusetts,[1] and that for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 1868. To these may be added those designed for mutual benefit, — the oldest of which is the Masonic Fraternity, — and those for educational and religious purposes.

At an early period the exertions of the charitable citizens of Boston were devoted to the object which modern charity considers the wisest mode of giving aid, — helping the poor to help themselves, by providing employment for them and making them independent of alms-giving. A society was established in 1749 for encouraging industry and employing the poor. At first it seemed to meet with no little success. It produced what was called the Spinning Craze, described elsewhere in this work,[2] and caused the erection of a building, long famous in the town; but the institution continued but a few years, and the building was finally disposed of for other purposes.

In 1827 the Young Men's Benevolent Society was established under the restriction that no relief should be given without an actual visit in the first instance by some member of its standing committee. The labors of Joseph Tuckerman for the elevation of the poor, in the "Ministry at large," and for the promotion, not merely of religious offices and instruction for the poor, but in great measure for their more judicious treatment, and the history of such establishments as the Benevolent Fraternity of churches, city missions, and free chapels deserve all the space allotted to our subject and more commendation than can be compressed into these lines.



In 1851 the Boston Provident Association was formed, designed to embrace a larger field of operation and based upon the principle of careful investigation by friendly visitation and inquiry. The city was divided into districts, to each of which a visitor was assigned, by whom a limited amount

[1] Incorporated in 1791, "for the recovery of persons who meet with such accidents as produce in them the appearance of death, and for promoting the cause of humanity by pursuing such means from time to time as shall have for their object the preservation of human life and the alleviation of its miseries," and well known for its rewards and provisions, especially on the sea-coast, for saving life.

[2] [See Vol. II. pp. 72, 461, 462, 511 — Ed.]

of aid was given and reports made as a guide for further action. The excellent principles upon which this organization was founded, and the character of the men engaged in its administration at once secured the favor and liberal support of the community. Its managers perceived the great importance of the harmonious and concurrent action of the various charitable agencies of the city upon some system by which the knowledge and investigation of each might be made available for all; and Robert C. Winthrop, then president, early recommended that a central building should be provided for the overseers of the poor, and voluntary charitable organizations, where they might easily communicate with each other and act in concert,[1] — and ultimately such a building, finished in 1868, now designated as the "Charity Building," was erected on Chardon Street, partly by voluntary subscriptions, but mainly at the cost of the city, where the overseers of the poor, the city physician, and a number[2] of private charitable organizations or agencies have offices and easy opportunities for immediate conference. A further advance was made in 1879 by the establishment of the "Associated Charities of Boston," designed to bring all the charitable agencies of the city into closer co-operation, and especially to aid the citizens of Boston to make use of these agencies readily and understandingly. This society has already done admirable service. Its object is to help the poor to help themselves; to guide them to relief, if possible by their own exertions, but if it is necessary, and only while it is necessary, to the sources of relief which already exist in abundance, and to detect imposture and prevent pauperism.

IV. General Unorganized Charities and Contributions to the Distressed of other Parts. — An examination of the files of a Boston newspaper for the last sixty-nine years (1813–1880) displays the varied forms in which the charity of its citizens has constantly manifested itself, and illustrates its growth in the wealth which supplies the means for gifts to relieve the misfortunes and sufferings which, like this charity, know no limit in time or place.

> "By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more in meats and drinks, . . .
> . . . All maladies
> Of ghastly spasm or racking torture,
> . . . . . .
> Demoniac frensy, moping melancholy,
> And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
> . . . and wide wasting pestilence."

The voluntary gifts, in addition to the public expenditures, for education exceed those for any other special purpose. "War and soldiers" hold the next rank. Hospitals and gifts for the afflicted, — for religion, seamen, fires,

[1] In his words: "An edifice dedicated and consecrated to the care of the destitute, . . . whose object and occupation . . . give it a beauty above any architectural embellishment." ("Memorial of the officers of the Boston Provident Association.") — See *Annual Report*, 1875.

[2] Eleven, at present, are represented in the building.

famines, floods and pestilence, — are all conspicuous. The blind, the aged, the orphan, the dumb and the deaf are remembered, and no part of the world is neglected. A famine in Ireland, the Azores, or Syria; a revolution in Greece; the yellow-fever in Memphis; a rebellion in Crete; sufferings by war in France; conflagrations in the United States and elsewhere; an earthquake in Chios; a captured fugitive slave; a destitute laborer suffering from an accident; a poor woman who has lost her purse, — every form of suffering, deprivation, loss, or destitution promptly call forth the gifts of those who do not yet stay their constant contributions for science, education, or religion, or the numerous objects which demand for their support the steady flow of voluntary beneficence. To send the missionary and the schoolmaster abroad, Boston is always ready. In this mode alone there appear to be recorded —

Gifts for purposes within the city of Boston	$14,995,200
Gifts for purposes without the city of Boston	3,767,756
Total	$18,762,956[1]

Divided as follows: —

For general and miscellaneous purposes	$9,592,334
For educational purposes	5,979,036
For war and soldiers	1,863,446
For religious purposes	1,212,755
For individuals	115,384
For sufferers by fires (included in the above)	1,187,937

It gives no sufficient idea of these gifts to record these figures and the names of the givers or sufferers. The friendly rivalry, the public opinion which encourages the willing and stimulates the reluctant, the silent sympathy and the unvalued time, labor, and actual expenditure of money in obtaining and transmitting such contributions cannot be recorded; and these figures are not offered as an exhibition or even as an approximate statement of the voluntary contributions actually made, but only as a collection of those which have been, more fully of late years, thus preserved. Nor can the subdivisions thus obtained be accepted as precise, but only as approximate, and as they appear from the files to an examiner. A comparison with the table hereafter given of the amount now held for charitable purposes, and with any estimate of the addition due to a just consideration of annual expenditures and of gifts unknown and unrecorded, will illustrate these statements and assist the reader to a conclusion; but it is impossible to give a satisfactory history of such contributions in detail, and some illustrations and examples only can be given. From 1813 to 1881 contributions are recorded for thirty-one fires, — eleven in Boston and twenty in other places, four within and sixteen without the State of Massachusetts,[2] — including over four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the

[1] These figures include gifts to organized societies.

[2] While we write these lines a subscription for sufferers by recent forest fires in Michigan, not included in the above, has already reached a sum of over $58,000.

fire of 1871 in Chicago, and over three hundred and forty thousand dollars for the great fire of 1872 in Boston.

In 1871 the terrible calamity which left a large portion of the city of Chicago in ashes, and caused a loss estimated at $200,000,000, awakened the prompt sympathy of Boston. The amount given reached a total of $452,241.51,[1] — a contribution larger than that of any other city except New York. In 1872 Boston was visited with a like misfortune. The representatives of Chicago generously offered to assist the sufferers by like gifts, as well as to return a large sum which remained unexpended of this amount, and received with no little surprise the courteous refusal of the Boston committee to accept this return. The latter felt that they were only trustees of the funds they had received, and were not at liberty to divert the contributions of their fellow-citizens from their destined purpose, even to those among the latter who had suffered from a similar cause. The contributions of the citizens of Boston for the losses of its own sufferers by the great fire of 1872 amounted to $343,302.24.[2]

The contributions of Boston to the distressed of other parts have never

[1] Including interest received on collections.

[2] The great fire of 1872 was an event of sufficient importance for special notice in these volumes; and it seems proper to preserve in this place, as an illustration of the charities of Boston, the first report of the relief committee intrusted with these gifts:—

"After the immediate wants of the firemen and volunteers who were injured had been attended to, the committee made permanent provision for the families of those who had been killed or injured, by placing in the hands of Martin Brimmer, Samuel D. Warren, Avery Plumer, William Endicott, Jr., and George Higginson $81,870 90 in trust; and those gentlemen have and will continue to make liberal allowances to the families of all the members or volunteers of the fire department who suffered personal injury while on duty at the fire.

"The committee for the employment of women, located at Park Street, composed mostly of ladies, expended in aid of working women and girls, — furnishing them with clothing, food, rent, sewing-machines, and transportation, — $68,3 95.19.

"The committee for employment of men, located on Washington Street, expended for clothing, food, rent, and tools $19,051 33.

"The general committee (Chardon Street) furnished to families burned out, and to other sufferers, coal, wood, stoves, furniture, clothing, and other necessaries, expending therefor $74,616.35.

"The special committee of relief made loans, without interest or security, to small traders and mechanics who were burned out and desired to start again, in sums varying from $200 to $500; and in addition have loaned in several cases, upon policies of insurance, to enable the sufferers to immediately avail themselves of their insurance money. Gifts have been made to the aged and infirm who have been reduced to penury by their losses in consequence of the fire; also a donation of $2,000 in money, and clothing to the amount of $1,600, to the Boston Provident Association, and $1,000 to the Industrial Aid Society, — both of these associations affording us valuable aid in our distribution.

"As it was soon apparent that the amount of subscription from our own people would amply suffice for all reasonable wants, the committee returned to the Relief Committee of Detroit the ten thousand dollars ($10,000) sent us from the money remaining in their hands after the fire in that city in 1871; as also the sum of nine thousand dollars ($9,000) sent us by the Relief Committee of Milwaukee from similar funds. Letters were sent to Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, New Bedford, and Worcester, thanking the gentlemen and committees who had promptly visited us and proffered their sympathy and assistance. While from the liberality of the home subscriptions we were not obliged to receive from them pecuniary aid, we expressed our gratification at the promptness and heartfelt sympathy with which it was tendered and pressed upon us.

"Applications are received from day to day from persons who have struggled on until now. Where there is sickness or infirmity, the committee repeat these gifts. It is not improbable that a very considerable portion of our present means will be needed the coming winter.

"The following is a statement of the Treasurer's account to this date, Nov. 9, 1873: —

Total amount of contributions, including $825.57 for interest on deposit in New England Trust Company	$343,302.24
Expended —	
Immediate aid to families of Firemen	$ 1,850.00
Paid trustees of Firemen's fund, William Endicott, Jr., Treasurer	81,870.90
Paid Treasurer Fire Department relief fund	200.00
By Women's Committee, Park Street	68,595.19
" Men's Committee, Washington Street	19,051.33
" General Committee, Chardon Street	74,616.35
" Special Committee	37,245.00
Repaid to Fire Committee Detroit	10,000.00
" " " Milwaukee	9,078.00
Expenses, including clerk hire, etc.	1,576.44
Balance on hand deposited in New England Trust Company	39,099 03
Total	$343,302.24

OTIS NORCROSS,
BOSTON, Nov. 9, 1873. *Treasurer.*"

been ascertained and recorded. Now and then some single enterprise of philanthropy has been deemed worthy of a separate record; but this especially has been the charity that "vaunteth not itself." Each in his generation recalls the liberal gifts which the news of some sudden or lingering calamity in a distant city or even in another hemisphere at once suddenly elicits, the prompt organizations which frequent experience of such demands has made familiar, the voluntary committees of citizens and officials, the quick announcement to the distant sufferers of the aid already on its way, the self-devoted laborers, and the numerous forms in which ready benevolence, not ending at home, has constantly manifested itself.

Good Mr. Peters's charity in buying provisions and distributing them to all the towns; the contributions for the ransom of the captives in Canada, — of which Judge Sewall writes in his *Diary* under date of Oct. 25, 1688: "Presented my final account to his Excellency respecting the French contribution as he landed at Mrs. Gillam's Stairs, from seeing the sloops set sail with souldiers and provisions for the eastward," — are early traces of this form of charity; and Drake records: "April 12 [1636] The ship 'Charity' of Dartmouth came near being cast away as she sailed into the harbor with a heavy northwest wind. She was of one hundred and twenty tons burden, and brought a timely supply of provisions which were at this time much needed. To prevent speculators oppressing the poor by buying up the provisions and holding them at extravagant prices, Mr. Peters bought up the whole cargo, by which operation 'he saved the country two hundred pds.' It was then distributed 'to all the towns as each town needed.' He had been laboring for some time to induce the people to establish a sort of magazine by buying up necessary articles when they were cheap, which should be well husbanded, and dealt out when they were scarce, at reasonable rates."[1]

In 1677 certain captives had been taken by the Indians at Hatfield, and agents were appointed by the General Court to go to Canada to ransom them. The governor and magistrates reported their arrival at Albany, but "that great charges would arise for their redemption," and they therefore commended their case to the people of all the towns and invited them to contribute for their relief. Trustees were appointed to receive the contributions; and three hundred and forty-five pounds one shilling and fourpence were raised, of which Boston contributed more than one hundred and nine pounds.[2]

The Greek Revolution of 1824 called forth the active sympathies of the modern Athens, and contributions large for the time, amounting to nearly sixteen thousand dollars, are recorded in its newspapers. There is no space to "enter into a detail of the proceedings by which the agents of the committees succeeded in alleviating the miseries of thousands and tens of thousands of half-starving Greeks." In these proceedings Boston, represented by Dr. Samuel G. Howe, had a large share.[3]

[1] Drake's *History of Boston*, p. 190.

[2] Ibid., p. 430.

[3] Howe's *Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, p. 447.

Boston shared largely in the contributions from America for the relief of the sufferers by the famine of 1847 in Ireland and Scotland, — the most remarkable and interesting "contribution to the distressed of other parts" in its history. The New England committee received contributions to the value of $151,007.05 from ten different States, of which Massachusetts gave $116,641.96, and Boston $52,162.94. Seven vessels, — among them two United States war-vessels, the frigate "Macedonian," and the sloop-of-war "Jamestown," granted by Congress for that purpose, — bore these gifts to their destination; the "Jamestown" being under the command of Robert B. Forbes, of Boston. They were received with the warmest gratitude, and the givers recalled the generosity with which "divers Christians in Ireland" in 1676 had contributed "for the releiffe of such as are Impoverished, Destressed, and in Nessessitie by the late Indian Warr," and sent this "releiffe" "to the distressed persons in New England by the Good ship call'd the Katherine, of Dublin." [1]

In June, 1877, St. John, New Brunswick, was visited by a most disastrous conflagration, which consumed property estimated at $28,000,000, left the most valuable portion of the city, — two fifths in area, — in ashes, and fifteen thousand persons homeless. The first expression of sympathy came from Boston, and its contributions of supplies were twice borne to the sufferers by a United States vessel, as thirty years before its gifts to the sufferers in Ireland had been committed to the "Jamestown" and "Macedonian." The total amount contributed by this city in money and supplies was over forty-four thousand dollars, — nearly twenty-seven thousand in money, and more in all than those received from any other city or town.

In 1830 Josiah Quincy endeavored to ascertain the "amounts received from the liberality of the citizens of Boston towards objects of a public nature, of a moral, religious, or literary character, chiefly within the last thirty years;" [2] and estimated them at about $1,801,273, more than one half of which, he thought, had been given within the previous ten years. Samuel A. Eliot made a like attempt in regard to the period from 1830 to 1845; [3] and including many donations for religious and educational purposes, but without taking into account collections in churches and gifts of private individuals for special objects, such as Mr. Quincy had included, he obtained a total amount, given chiefly within the previous fifteen years, of $2,938,020. F. B. Sanborn, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, 1865, collected further information, and estimated the total sum annually expended in private charity in Boston alone, including contributions in churches and public meetings, at not less than $500,000. He was of opinion that of Mr. Quincy's estimate at least two thirds, or about $100,000 per annum for fifteen years of the period he had taken, were given for the relief of pauperism alone. In 1877 the commission for the treatment of the poor in Boston made a similar attempt for the period of

[1] *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ii. 245.

[2] *Centennial Address* (1830), p. 65.

[3] *North American Review*, July, 1845, vol. 61, p. 135.

ten years from 1867 to 1876; and — with imperfect information from the churches applied to, and none as to gifts of individuals or public meetings for special objects at home or abroad, not represented by societies or individuals from which recorded statistics could be obtained — reported a total sum for 1867 of $264,000, for 1876 of $531,300, and for the ten years of $3,838,700, expended in private relief alone. To this must be added the unrecorded gifts of which no satisfactory estimate can be made. The aggregate municipal expenditures for charitable purposes by the city of Boston for the same ten years are stated by the commissioners at $2,987,916.28;[1] so that it is still clearly true, as stated by Mr. Eliot in reference to the period of which he speaks, "that a much larger amount has been distributed by the individual inhabitants of Boston than by the city government in the same term of time for the same or similar purposes."

An estimate from the best authority has been furnished of the amounts contributed in Boston to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since its organization in 1810. "Its receipts from the city of Boston for twenty-five years (1856–1880) were $968,451. The gifts from Brighton, Charlestown, Dorchester, and Roxbury, during the same period prior to annexation, would amount to more than $31,549; and it is therefore an under-estimate to say that Boston has given to this object $1,000,000 during the last quarter of a century. Prior to that period the receipts from Boston cannot be given separately from others without a tedious canvassing of the original acknowledgments; but if we assume that they would bear the same proportion to the total receipts before 1856 as since that time, we reach an approximate result which cannot be regarded as too favorable to Boston. On this basis the entire receipts by the Board from the city in the seventy years of its history may be estimated at $1,700,000. In fact, if the full statement could be drawn out, there is little doubt that we should have to add $100,000, and perhaps as much more, to this sum;" and it is thought that it would not "be an over-estimate to say that probably not far from $2,000,000 have been thus contributed" from this source alone for these objects, while it must be remembered that "this represents only the gifts to foreign missions from the churches and individuals connected with the Congregational churches, and that the large contributions for like purposes from other religious bodies are not included. Part of this sum is included in the contributions for religious purposes collected from the files of a Boston newspaper; but as the total of these contributions for use in and out of the city thus collected is about $1,200,000, it may be conjectured how far short the gifts so recorded are of the full measure of the charity and beneficence of Boston.

The largest missionary association of the Unitarian churches is the American Unitarian Association, founded in the year 1825. The Unitarians also support the Evangelical Missionary Society, the Society for Diffusing Christian Knowledge, and the Society for Promoting Theologi-

[1] In addition to its proportion (amounting to $1,951,122.22) of State pauper expenses.

cal Education. The accounts of the treasurers of these societies show that, in the last fifty-six years, they have contributed about $1,500,000 for missionary purposes. Of this sum rather more than $500,000 has been contributed in Boston.

The missionary contributions from Boston of other religious denominations have not been ascertained.

Three citizens of Boston have recently made bequests valued now at nearly $3,000,000 for charitable and educational establishments not yet fully in operation.

John Simmons in 1870 left a sum, amounting now to about $1,400,000, to found the Simmons Female College, for the teaching of medicine, music, drawing, designing, telegraphy, and other branches of art, science, and industry, best calculated to enable its pupils to acquire an independent livelihood.

Thomas Liversidge in 1876 bequeathed a fund, now amounting to $300,000, to found the Liversidge Institution of Industry, designed for education in Industrial Arts.

Peter B. Brigham in 1877 gave by his will $30,000 to the town of Bakersfield in Vermont, to constitute the Brigham School fund for educational purposes; and the residue of his estate, after the payment of certain legacies, at the end of twenty-five years, with its accumulations, to found the Brigham Hospital for sick persons in indigent circumstances residing in Boston. This residue is now estimated at about $1,000,000.

A renewed effort[1] has been made to ascertain the total amount of property now held in Boston, or in its vicinity, under such circumstances that it may be reckoned as the result of the voluntary liberality of its citizens, for charitable purposes. No little difficulty has been found in obtaining this information. For that purpose two hundred and seventy-seven circulars were sent to different private institutions or societies, including fifty-eight

[1] An earlier attempt is recorded in the following, taken from the *Report of the Commission on the Treatment of the Poor*, City Doc. 36, of 1878, appendix xxii.:—

	Public Institu'ns	Private Societies.	Churches.	Total.
Circulars sent (excluding about eighty sent to Mutual and other societies)	6	104	165	275
Answers reporting figures	6	80	53	139
Answers without figures	...	12	32	44
No answers	...	12	80	92
Societies, etc., reporting figures—				
Out-door	2	43	...	45
In-door	4	37		41
Churches	...	...	53	53
Total		...	.....	139

Average number reporting in any one year: private, 83; public, 6,—total, 89.

SUMMARY.

	Invested Funds. (Including real estate held for income.)		Real Estate Used.	
	In detail.	Totals.	In detail.	Totals.
I. Industrial:				
a. Free employment bureaus	$39,000.00			
b. Industrial training and charity work	32,392.35	$71,392.35	$500.00	$500.00
II. Government Aid — *omitted.*				
III. Relief Irrespective of Class		879,004.16		35,000.00
IV. Relief for Special Classes		1,150,133.32		5[illegible]
V. Aid for Foreigners		45,279.75		[illegible]
VI. Sick and Defective Persons:				
a. General				
b. Free nurses	1,998.00			
c. General hospitals	2,472,297.49		1,021,926 58	
d. Special hospitals	1,161,512.80		448,[illegible]7 75	
e. General dispensaries	188,470.50		26,[illegible]	
f. Special dispensaries	100,458.75		100,[illegible]	
g. Blind	211,449.10		23[illegible]	
h. Deaf and dumb				
k. Idiotic and feeble-minded	17,929.43	4,154,113 07	3[illegible]	[illegible]
VII. Flower and Fruit Missions				
VIII. Homes:				
a. Almshouses — *omitted.*				
b. Homes for adults	749,863 64		[illegible]	
c. Homes for children	664,414 33		[illegible]	
d. Improved dwellings	17,3[illegible]6.63	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
IX. Reform:				
a. Adult convicts	35,598.45		18,000.00	
b. Fallen women	30,735.00		138,100.00	
c. Children	33,278.50		14,000.00	
d. Temperance	11,451.75		110,000.00	
e. Literature	590.31	111,654.01		280,100.00
X. Humane		135,800.00		5,000.00
XI. Mutual Benefit:				
a. For all classes	29,605.03			
b. For special classes and foreigners	275,262.93	304,867.96	36,000.00	36,000.00
XII. Educational and Religious:				
a. Schools, etc. (Lowell Institute only)	745,660.78			
b. Missionaries, etc.	158,882.50			
c. Free chapels (included in churches below).				
d. For special classes	1,809,213.10		364,600.00	
e. Churches	234,286.40	2,948,042.78	12,346,900.00 *	12,711,500.00
Total		$11,232,042.00		$16,595,897.20

Total Real Estate used	$16,595,897.20
Total Invested Funds (including real estate held for income)	11,232,042.00
Grand Total	$27,827,939.20 †

* From *Tax Commissioners' Report.* † Not including the Brigham bequest, p. 669.

Note. — There are some differences between the figures in this table and the public returns. Some of the property is not within the city limits, and both items and valuations as given by the societies and public authorities vary. The *Annual Report* of the Auditor of the city for the financial year 1880–81 states that, "Churches, charitable, scientific, and literary corporations hold property, exempt by law from assessment, as follows: value of land, $10,422,400.00; value of buildings, $10,352,500.00; total real estate, $20,774,900.00 Personal estate, $3,408,500.00." — p. 314.

churches supposed to hold funds for such purposes. One hundred and seventy-five answers only were received, and attempts have been made in some cases to estimate the amounts which should be added to supply these omissions; but the result of this effort and of that made by the commissioners of 1877 indicate the propriety of some compulsory system of public returns. The State is entitled to know the amount and nature of the property which it exempts from taxation, and to supervise its administration. Concealment, or even the absence of publicity, favored from good motives by the best men, is calculated to promote abuses by the worst.

The Summary on the preceding page exhibits the returns and estimates of the amounts of property held in 1880–81 for charitable and religious purposes, mostly in the city of Boston; not including the property owned by the city, or the real or personal estate of colleges, museums, etc.

If to this total sum of $27,827,939 we add real estate owned by the city, used for charitable purposes, $1,045,300; for public baths $20,000; for educational purposes $8,480,200; for the Public Library $561,000, — in all $10,106,500; and also the property of certain educational institutions in Boston and vicinity, such as the Institute of Technology, the Boston Natural History Society, the Art Museum, the Boston University, Tufts College, Wellesley College, Harvard College,[1] and the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge (which are fairly to be included in Boston charities); and other real estate used for educational, literary, and scientific purposes in Boston, not included in the foregoing, — we have a total amount of probably $50,000,000 or more (on a valuation in 1880 of $639,462,495) devoted to all these objects.

It is impossible, however, to state the total amount given or now set apart for charitable objects, even of a public nature; and the gifts of one generation are not recorded for their successors. It is safe to increase by large additions, in any estimate, the amounts which we are able to gather from any accessible sources; but "far short as this sum falls of the real amount obtained from the liberality of our fellow-citizens, it is yet enough to make it evident that the best spirit of the institutions of our ancestors survives in the hearts and is exhibited in the lives of the citizens of Boston."[2]

The space allowed for the "Charities of Boston" in this Memorial is more than filled with a sketch which cannot but seem, to those most familiar with the subject, inadequate and incomplete. Every one who has shared in them, and watched their history and development with personal interest and activity, will recall some society or institution, some fact or occurrence, some noble act or generous gift, some liberal giver of his life,

[1] The personal property of Harvard College is about $4,000,000, and its real estate is estimated as worth from $2,000,000 to $3,000,000, not including its scientific collections and library. The property of the other institutions has not been ascertained.

[2] *Centennial Address* (1830), by Josiah Quincy, p. 65.

labor, or wealth, some feature or illustration which he feels — and it is difficult to say unjustly feels — should have been included or set forth or more fully described and recorded. Imperfect and unsatisfactory as the writer finds the result of his labors, he reviews with a keen sense of pride the evidences which they present of the "good works and alms-giving" of his fellow-citizens, here set down in no boastful spirit, and solicits charity from them for the poverty of his narration.

Geo. S. Hale.

NOTE. — The following is a list of the 176 voluntary organizations and 13 charities mentioned on page 658, whose funds, so far as known, are included with those of other institutions in the Summary on page 670. The date prefixed to each indicates the year of its establishment. The *Directory* referred to on page 657 contains a more full and detailed account of these and other charitable agencies and of their objects.

1630 to 1700.

1638. Harvard College.
1657. Scots' Charitable Society.
*1674. Charlestown Poor's Fund.

1700 to 1750.

*1701. Stoughton Poor Fund.
1720. Quarterly Charity Lecture.
1737. Charitable Irish Society.

1750 to 1775.

*1759. Poor Widow's Fund.
*1760. Pemberton Fund.

1775 to 1800.

1786. Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society.
*1786. Jeffries Fund.
1786. Massachusetts Humane Society.
*1791. Franklin Fund
1794. Roxbury Charitable Society.
1794. Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society.
*1795. Boylston Funds (2).
1796. Boston Dispensary.
*1798. Mason Fund.

1800 to 1810.

1800. Boston Female Asylum.
1809. Massachusetts Bible Society.

1810 to 1820.

*1811. Dexter Fund.
1811. Masssachusetts General Hospital.
1812. Howard Benevolent Society.
1816. Fragment Society.
1816. Widows' Society.
1816. British Charitable Society.
1816. American Tract Society.
1816. City Missionary Society.
1816. American College and Educat'l Soc'y.
1816. Society for Promoting Theol. Education.
1817. Boston Fatherless and Widows' Society.
1818. McLean Asylum for the Insane (Massachusetts General Hospital).
1818. Penitent Female Refuge and Bethesda Society.
1819. Devens' Benevolent Society.

1820 to 1830.

1821. Massachusetts Baptist Charitable Soc'y.
1824. Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary.
1827. Young Men's Benevolent Society.
1829. Episcopal City Mission.
1829. Boston Seamen's Friend Society.

1830 to 1840.

1831. St. Vincent Orphan Asylum.
1831. Congregational Publishing Society.
*1832. Lucy Bullman Charity.
1832. Preachers' Aid Society of New England Conference M. E. Church.
1832. Boston Lying-in Hospital.
1833. Boston Children's Friend Society.
1833. Christian Infant School and Children's Home Association.
1835. Nickerson Home for Children.
1835. Industrial Aid Society.
1835. Boston Asylum and Farm School for Boys.
1836. New England Moral Reform Society.
1838. South Boston Samaritan Society.
1838. Lowell Institute.
1839. Benevolent Fraternity of Churches.

1840 to 1850

1846. Episcopal Clerical Fund Association.
1846. New England Education Society.

* See p. 656

1847. Temporary Home for the Destitute.
1847. Needle Woman's Friend Society.
1848. Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen.
1848. German Aid Society.
1849. Home for Aged Women.
1849. Children's Mission to the Children of the Destitute.

1850 to 1860.

1851. Boston Young Men's Christian Association.
1851. Boston Young Men's Christian Union.
1851. House of the Angel Guardian.
1851. Boston Provident Association.
1852. Sailors' Snug Harbor.
*1852. David Sears Charity.
1853. Congregational Library.
1853. Industrial School for Girls.
1853. New England Scandinavian Benevolent Society.
1854. Tufts College.
1855. Evangelical Baptist Benevolent and Missionary Society.
1855. Lawrence Model Lodging Rooms.
1855. Church Home for Orphans and Destitute Children.
1855. Massachusetts Homœopathic Hospital.
1855. Spiritualists' Ladies' Aid Society.
1856. Roxbury Home for Children and Aged Women.
1856. Homœopathic Medical Dispensary.
1857. Washingtonian Home.
1857. Channing Home, established by Miss Harriet Ryan.
1858. Independent Order of Good Templars.
1858. North Street Union Mission to the Poor.
1859. Independent Order of Good Templars (re-organized).

1860 to 1870.

1860. House of the Good Samaritan.
1860. Home for Aged Colored Women.
1860. Home for Aged Men.
1861. Boston Sewing Circle.
1861. Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
*1861. Pierce Fuel Fund.
1862. N. E. Hospital for Women and Children.
1863. Carney Hospital.
*1863. Holton Funds (2).
1864. Association for the Protection of Roman Catholic Children.
1864. Temporary Asylum for Discharged Female Prisoners (Dedham).
1864. Consumptives' Home.
1865. Willard Tract Repository.
1865. Boston Children's Aid Society.
1865. Baldwin-Pl. Home for Little Wanderers.
1865. St. Joseph's Home for Sick and Destitute Servant Girls.
1865. Winchester Home for Aged Women.
1865. Swiss Aid Society.
1865. Boston North End Mission.
1866. Boston Young Women's Christ'n Assoc'n.
1866. Massachusetts Temperance Alliance.
1867 Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society.
1867. House of the Good Shepherd.
1867. Massachusetts Infant Asylum
1867. United Hebrew Benevolent Association.
1867. Grand Army of the Republic (Boston).
1868. Soc'y for Employment of Bible Readers.
1868. Dental College (Infirmary).
1868. Boston Musician's Relief-Fund Society.
1868. Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.
1868. St. Elizabeth's Hospital.
1868. St. Mary's Infant Asylum and Lying-in Hospital.
1869. Boston University.
1869. Ladies' Relief Agency.
1869. Italian Benevolent Society.
1869. Children's Hospital.
1869. Boston Flower and Fruit Mission

1870 to 1880.

† Hospital Newspaper Society.
† Lowell School of Practical Design.
1870. Boffin's Bower.
1870. St. Luke's Home for Convalescents.
1870. Shawmut Universalist Flower Mission.
1870. Home for the Aged Poor.
1870. Museum of Fine Arts
1870. Simmons Female College.
1870. Boston Co-operative Building Company.
1871. Moral Education Association of Boston.
1871. Association of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for Works of Mercy.
1872. Women's Educational Association.
1872. Charlestown Free Dispensary.
1872. Poor Children's Excursions.
1873. Ambulance Service.
1873. Dispensary for Diseases of Women.
1873. Dispensary for Diseases of Children.
1873. Boston Training School for Nurses.
†1874. Young Men's Hebrew Association.
1874. Women's Christian Temperance Union.
1874. Boston Industrial Temporary Home.
1874. Boston North End Diet Kitchen.
1874. Jamaica Plain Employment and Temporary Relief Society.
1874. Provident Wood-yard.
1875. Co-operative Society of Visitors among the Poor.
1875. Highland Aid Society.
1875. Free Hospital for Women.
1875. Société Franco-Belge de Secours, etc.
1875. Sea-shore Home (Winthrop).
1875. Boston South End Diet Kitchen.
1875. West Boston Relief Association.
1875. Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society.

* See p. 656.

† Exact dates not known.

1875. Wellesley College (Wellesley).
1875. Young Men's Catholic Association, Boston College.
1875. Young Men's Catholic Association, South Boston.
1875. Country Week.
1876. Spinal Home.
1876. Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women.
1876. Union for Christian Work.
1876. Society for the Relief of the Sick Poor.
1877. Temporary Home for Workingmen.
1877. Boston Deaf-Mute Society.
1877. Roxbury Young Men's Union.
1877. Shaw Asylum for Mariners' Children.
1877. Adams' Nervine Asylum.
1877. Pawn Fund.
1877. Women's Educa'l and Industrial Union.
1878. Lewis Street Mission.
1878. Christian Workers.
1878. Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
1878. N. E. Soc. for the Suppression of Vice.
1878. Miss Burnap's Home for the Aged and Friendless.
1878. Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society.
1878. Summer Street Fire Fund.
1878. Portland Street Mission.
1878. Friendly Hand.
1878. Boston Cooking School.
1879. Wells Memorial Association.
1879. Reading-Room for Newsboys and Bootblacks.
1879. Massachusetts Public Health Associa'n.
1879. N. E. Home for Intemperate Women.
1879. Girls' Friendly Society.
1879. Associated Charities.
1879. Ward VI. Workrooms.
1879. Ward XVI. Workrooms.

1880.

1880. North End Industrial School.
1880. North End Laundry.
1880. North End Nursery.
1880. West End Day Nursery.

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